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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1902



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FOREIGN MILITARY INFORMATION

Sofia ARMEYSKI PREGLED in Bulgarian No 6, 1981 pp 127-128

[Article: Title as above; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] /The land forces of the European member countries of the NATO bloc (excluding France) have about 12,500 medium tanks and more than 18,000 armored carriers./¹

It is anticipated that in 1981 an additional 710 tanks and armored carriers, 150 artillery guns, 840 PU PTUR [antitank guided missile launchers], 4300 grenade launchers, about 390 combat aircraft and helicopters, 75 PU ZUR [antiaircraft guided missile launchers] and 13 ships will be put into service. The decision has been made to modernize more than 400 tanks, more than 450 combat aircraft and other types of weapons.

/The American telescopic night sight AN/TVS-5 mounted on a 12.7mm/ M2HB machine gun makes it possible to detect by moonlight a motor vehicle up to 1200 m away. The instrument makes use of an electron-optical image intensifier. The sight's visual field is 9°, its magnification 3X, its weight 3 kg. It is powered by two 2.5-volt batteries whose capacity provides continuous operation for 12 hours. The AN/TVS-5 night sight is being put into service in the land forces of the United States.

/The West German combat reconnaissance vehicle "Lux"/ has a four-man crew; combat weight 19.5 tons; armament--20mm automatic gun and 7.62mm antiaircraft machine gun; horsepower of the diesel engine 390; maximum speed on the highway 90 km/hr, afloat 10 km/hr; range per charging 800 km. It has been in service in the reconnaissance battalions of the divisions of the land forces of the FRG (408 vehicles) since 1975.²

The first three F-104G fighter-bombers, which had previously been in service in the naval air arm of the FRG, were put into service /in the Turkish Air Force/ in December 1980. Delivery of these aircraft will continue while the West German Air Force is rearmed with new Tornado multipurpose tactical fighters. In addition, about 40 F-104 aircraft are coming from the Netherlands as the Netherlands Air Force rearms with F-16 fighters.

/At the flight test center of the/ Messerschmitt, Bolkow and Blohm /Company/ (in the city of Manching, FRG), 10 pilots and six instructor navigators have

completed their training. They have been sent to a special training unit activated at (Cotesmoor) airfield (Great Britain), where in May 1981 they will begin to teach air force flight personnel of the FRG, Great Britain and Italy to fly the new Tornado multipurpose tactical fighter.

/MLRS Volley Fire Rocket System/

In 1980 more than 32 MLRS-type rocket-launching artillery combat vehicles came into service in the U.S. Army. In the next two years the total number thereof is supposed to reach 173.

The MLRS combat vehicle is a new Xm-2 track-laying infantry combat vehicle on which is mounted a package of projectors (two six-tube sections with armor protection). Fire is delivered with 227mm rocket projectiles at a range of 70 km not only with single rounds but also in volleys. A volley lasts for one minute.

The system is intended for the destruction of personnel and light armored equipment, for counterbattery fire, for firing with smoke, illuminating and chemical ammunition, with electronic weapons, and with volumetric-explosion [s obmen vzriv] ammunition.

Every combat vehicle is supplied with an automated control system consisting of a device for making computed firing corrections with allowance for the velocity and direction of trailer wind [pritsepnaya vyatur; possibly error for pritselnaya vyatur, "wind at target," or prizemniya vyatur, "ground wind"] and for air and charge temperature, as well as with an automatic target homing device.

Two minutes are required for preparation.³

In the United States preparations are being completed for the series production of missiles for the Hellfire helicopter antitank system developed by the Rockwell International Company. It is expected that about 43,000 PTUR [antitank guided missiles] will be produced for the ground forces. The first 2760 units will be bought in fiscal year 1982.

Within the ground forces of the FRG there are 420 35mm Gepard [Hunting Leopard] twin barreled antiaircraft mounts, which are in service in the antiaircraft regiments of the divisions.

In the European countries of NATO there are 54 launchers for the Lance guided missile, including 26 in the FRG, 6 in Italy, 5 in Belgium, 6 in Holland, and the rest in Great Britain.⁴

/Troop-Carrier Helicopter of the British Marines/

At the end of 1979 the British Navy planned to begin the replacement of obsolete Wessex Mk5 helicopters with the new Sea King NS Mk4, which is a modification of the multipurpose Commando Mk2 helicopter and is intended for the transportation of weapons for the marines (105mm guns, B-202 armored carriers) and other combat equipment, as well as for the debarking of landing forces, including paratroopers.

Originally the Navy command ordered 15 helicopters, the first four of which were scheduled to be delivered in 1979-1980 and the rest in 1981. It was anticipated that the new machines would replace all the Wessex Mk5 helicopters in about the middle of the 1980's.

The maximum flying weight of the Sea King NS Mk4 is 9525 kg; empty weight 5543 kg; maximum length with rotor 22.15 m; rotor diameter 18.9 m; height 5.13 m; cruising speed 208 km/hr; climbing speed 10.2 m/sec; static ceiling with allowance for influence of the ground 1525 m; flight range 445 km (with suspended tanks 1500 km). The cargo compartment can accommodate 28 servicemen with their weapons or 2700 kg of cargo. In addition, 3400 kg can be suspended on a steel cable. The helicopter is equipped with two 1600-horsepower N. 1400-1 Guillaume engines from the Rolls-Royce Company.

FOOTNOTES

1. The magazine "Zarubezhnoye Voyennoye Obozreniye" [Foreign Military Review], No. 3, 1981.
2. The magazine "Zarubezhnoye Voyennoye Obozreniye," No. 2, 1981.
3. The magazine "Tekhnika i Vooruzheniye" [Equipment and Armament], No. 4, 1981.
4. The magazine "Zarubezhnoye Voyennoye Obozreniye," No. 4, 1981.
5. The magazine "Zarubezhnoye Voyennoye Obozreniye," No. 1, 1981.

6474

CSO: 2200/116

BULGARIA

BRIEFS

GRIGOROV RETURN--Mitko Grigorov, deputy chairman of the State Council, returned from the Philippines today, where he attended the inauguration ceremonies for President Marcos. Mitko Grigorov presented a greeting message on behalf of Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council, to President Marcos, during his stay in the Philippines. [AU121631 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 6 Jul 81 AU]

TODOROV ACTIVITIES--Sofia, 7 Jul (BTA)--Today Mr Stanko Todorov, National Assembly chairman, met Mr Knut Andersen, chairman of the Danish Parliament, who is on an inofficial visit to Bulgaria. Mr Stanko Todorov made the Danish guest familiar with the structure and activity of the National Assembly--the supreme state power body. In reply to the interest shown, the chairman of the National Assembly also dwelt on the democratic nature of the election system in Bulgaria, on the activity of the permanent commissions and on Bulgaria's successes in the field of the economy and agriculture. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1430 GMT 7 Jul 81 AU]

INTERELECTRO PARTICIPATION--Sofia, 8 Jul (BTA)--Within the framework of the Interelectro international organization, Bulgaria specializes chiefly in the manufacture of automatic circuit breakers, voltage regulators, complete distributor devices and micro-engines for tape-recording equipment. The country will also produce some kinds of complete electric driving parts for metal-cutting machines with digital program control. She will manufacture jointly with other socialist countries the "polyfoil" multilayer insulation for the modern electric machines. Bulgaria participates in 15 out of all the 20 agreements regulating the multilateral techno-scientific cooperation work within the framework of Interelectro. She also takes an active part in the "Inter-electrotest international organization of the high-power and voltage testing laboratories. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 0823 GMT 8 Jul 81 AU]

LEADERS AT CELEBRATION--A celebration marking the 60th anniversary of the Mongolian People's Revolution was held in Sofia today. Grisha Filipov, Petur Dyulgerov, leaders of public, political and mass organizations attended the celebration which was chaired by Mitko Grigorov, deputy chairman of the State Council. Comrade Peko Takov read a report on this glorious date in the history of fraternal Mongolia. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 10 Jul 81 AU]

BOZHINOV IN BURGAS--Todor Bozhinov has arrived in Burgas. He visited the petrochemical combine and the new expansion of the sugar plant near Kamenovo village. At a meeting with the leaderships of the construction-assembly organizations and of the "Neftokhim" economic combine, Todor Bozhinov focused attention on the need for timely completing and commissioning the priority projects. He later also visited the Docho Ivanov wood-felling plant, where he spoke about the intensification of the production capacities. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 10 Jul 81 AU]

FILIPOV IN RAZGRAD--A plenum of the Razgrad okrug party committee is being held in Razgrad. Grisha Filipov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers, attended the plenum. Anastasiy Bonchev, first secretary of the okrug party committee, read a report on further perfecting the socialist organization of labor and on widely implementing the brigade organization in agriculture. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 11 Jul 81 AU]

MONGOLIAN AMBASSADOR'S RECEPTION--Mongolian Ambassador to Bulgaria Bayaryn Jadambaa gave a reception at the embassy on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the Mongolian people's revolution. Comrades Grisha Filipov, Peko Takov, Petur Dyulgerov, Dimitur Stanishev, Milko Balev, Mitko Grigorov, deputy chairman of the State Council, and others attended the reception. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 10 Jul 81 AU]

INDIAN MINISTER ARRIVES--At the invitation of the Committee on Culture, on 12 July an Indian delegation led by (Khobut Manishanker Chudshi), minister of state for information and broadcasting, arrived in Bulgaria. At Sofia Airport the delegation was greeted by Boyan Traykov, general director of the Bulgarian radio. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 12 Jul 81 AU]

CSO: 2200/122

BRIEFS

TRADE UNION ORGANIZES SUMMER CAMPS--Over 436,000 children will spend their 1981 summer vacations in over 1,750 Pioneer summer camps organized by the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement (ROH). This summer, ROH will be able to provide summer recreational facilities for 22.5 percent of school-age children, a leader among 17 organizations providing this activity. Together with the Socialist Youth Union, the Czechoslovak Physical Education Association, the Czechoslovak Red Cross and other organizations summer camps are provided for one third of Czechoslovak schoolchildren. [Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 15 Jul 81 p 4]

CSO: 2400/266

FRG PURCHASE OF GDR POLITICAL PRISONERS' FREEDOM REPORTED

Bonn DIE WELT in German 16 Jun 81 p 4

['hrk' report from Berlin: "Prisoners' Freedom Ransomed for Two Billion Marks. There Are 4,500 Political Prisoners in the GDR."]

[Text] Since 1964 the FRG government has spent two billion marks to buy the freedom of GDR political prisoners. This figure has been calculated by the Working Group "13 August." Reportedly, up to 1,200 prisoners annually have been deported to the FRG to date. During the past two months 300 GDR prisoners have arrived in the West.

The Working Group has noticed a sharp rise in sentences for alleged "anti-state agitation." Western experts view this trend as being linked to the events in Poland.

Rainer Hildebrandt, a spokesman for the Working Group, said yesterday [15 June 1981] that at present about 4,500 political prisoners are being held in the GDR jails, at times under inhuman detention and work conditions. "The total number of prisoners in the GDR has now reached the highest figure to date, 55,000. Concurrently there has been a remarkable increase in the number of those punished for petty crimes."

The East Berlin regime has "on numerous occasions" indicated that it would be ready to make even "greater concessions" in the case of an amnesty for Guenter Guillaume, the chancellor spy. Hildebrandt pointed out that lately sentences for alleged intelligence activity for the FRG have been unusually severe; "this is obviously being done with a view toward increasing the exchange value of Guillaume."

On the eve of the anniversary of the 17 June 1953 uprising, former GDR prisoners now living in the West appealed to the FRG regime to show stronger concern for the lot of the political prisoners in the GDR. "Up to now," the appeal said, "even the most flagrant violations of human rights in the GDR have been ignored. No systematic investigation of such violations has been conducted, nor have there been any efforts to expose them in international forums."

The Working Group also criticized the permissive attitude in the West in connection with attempts by certain companies to recruit help, by means of newspaper ads, among naive people, who subsequently get harsh sentences in the GDR.

CSO: 2300/253

DOBROSIELSKI'S ARTICLE ON POLAND, MADRID MEETING NOTED

Warsaw SPRAWY MIĘDZYNARODOWE in Polish No 1 Jan 81 pp 7-14

[Article by Marian Dobrosielski: "Poland During Madrid"]

1

[Text] On 11 November 1980 a meeting of the representatives of the 35 states participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe began in Madrid. In accord with the resolutions of the Final Act in Helsinki, this was to be one of the steps within the framework of the "continuation of the process of strengthening security and the development of cooperation in Europe" in the multilateral process, and was to achieve an "in-depth exchange of views, both in respect to putting the resolutions of the Final Act into force and in implementing the tasks specified by the Conference, and also with respect to improving their mutual relations, strengthening security and the development of cooperation in Europe, and developing the process of detente in the future, within the context of the problems discussed at the Conference."¹ This interesting and intricate formulation of the Final Act completely specifies the tasks of meetings of the Belgrade or Madrid type, and that is why I have quoted it in its entirety.

For greater clarity it is also worth recalling that among the "tasks specified by the Conference, are, among others: the common goal of the participating states "to overcome confrontation," to "spread and deepen

* Article is based on those by the author published in TRYBUNA LUDU of 11-12 October and 8-9 November 1980.

¹ For the text of the Final Act of the CSCE, see SPRAWY MIĘDZYNARODOWE, 1975, No. 10.

the process of detente and to give it a constant and lasting nature," the aim of seeking "with full consideration of differences and variety in positions and attitudes, possibilities for uniting efforts for the purpose of overcoming suspicion and increasing trust, to solve the problems which cause them and to develop cooperation in the interests of the people." Thus the meeting in Madrid should have been one of the concrete steps in implementing these long-term constructive goals.

The preparatory meeting, begun in Madrid on 9 September 1980, was to make decisions on specifications of the agenda, and the length and schedule of the work of the basic meeting. Apparently the meeting did not deal with exclusively technical and organizational matters. In essence argumentation not only touched on the forms and methods of the work of the conference itself, but also on the proper interpretation of the fragments of the Final Act quoted above.

With some simplification this refers to the fact that the United States and some other Western states are attempting to give the meeting a basic character of confrontation, to transform it into a tribune of indictments against socialist countries and to use it for purposes of anticommunistic propaganda by placing the major emphasis on the matter of a review of the implementation of the Final Act.

It is obvious that the socialist states do not fear confrontation. They are in possession of a sufficient number of arguments to demonstrate that it was precisely the NATO military bloc which acted contrary to the spirit and letter of the Final Act by making an attempt to gain military superiority over the Soviet Union and the states of the Warsaw Pact, and attempts to return to the "position of power" policy. The NATO decisions of May 1978 and of December 1979, military doctrines, and particularly the doctrine on the possibility of a limited nuclear war in Europe are evidence of these goals. All of these things contribute to exacerbating the international situation, especially by unleashing and intensifying the arms race under the most varied pretexts. But the CSCE does not deal with this in the Final Act or in the entire initiating process. It does not involve confrontation, but cooperation, not an arms race but curbing it, not an increase in tension but detente in the political, military and every other field. This is how the socialist states have consistently approached and do approach implementation of the tasks of the Final Act.

This attitude has been clearly reflected in the Declaration of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact states-sides of 15 May 1980, and recently in the communication of the Committee of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the states of this Pact.²

² See TRYBUNA LUDU of 16 May and 21 October 1980.

In this communique all of the Warsaw Pact states unanimously expressed support for a continuation of the CSCE process, for implementation of the real current of this process in accord with the spirit and letter of the Final Act. They all support its proposals, contained in the above-mentioned Declaration as well as elsewhere, aimed at relieving stresses, continuing and deepening the policy of detente, strengthening security, disarmament, respect for the independence of nations, and respect for relations between states. They have testified to the fact that there are no problems which could not be solved via negotiations, and that there are no types of weapons which could not be the object of understandings with respect to their limitation and reduction.

In the current international situation the socialist states attribute particular importance to the Madrid Meeting. They declare themselves in favor of conducting it in a constructive, not a confrontational, atmosphere, and express their political will to attain understanding in all of the major fields of strengthening security and cooperation in Europe. They are paying special attention to the adoption of a decision in Madrid on calling a conference on the matter of military detente and disarmament in Europe. They also express their support for understanding relating to cooperation in the fields of economy, science and technology, protection of the environment, culture, education, information and contact. Thus the attitude of the socialist states to "Madrid 80" is an attitude which is in principle in conformity with the CSCE Final Act, unanimously favoring continuation of the process of political and military detente, and flexibly approaching all constructive proposals regardless of which side originates them.

This attitude was developed jointly by all of the Warsaw Pact states. Without any false modesty it should be stated that Poland made more than a trifling contribution to its development. We expect a similar approach from all participants in the Madrid Meeting. The situation in Europe is too complex, and the socioeconomic and other problems facing all of us are too difficult, requiring the joining of all existing intellectual and material resources to solve them via cooperation, for us to be able to permit ourselves the "luxury" of confrontation, fruitless arguments, acceleration of the arms race, and the waste of opportunities provided by the policy of detente and cooperation in dealing with the magnitude of the difficulties piling up before us.

The Madrid Meeting is taking place at a time when the international situation is worsening. This increases our responsibility for the course and results of this meeting. An atmosphere of detente alone without essential results is not sufficient but, on the other hand, an atmosphere of hostility and confrontation forms a fundamental obstacle to the achievement of essential results. We must proceed in a way which not only does not complicate such an intricate situation, but we should also make every effort to maintain the course outlined in Helsinki.

We rely on the fact that common sense will prevail in Madrid and that the Meeting will contribute to establishing new incentives, more necessary now than ever, to animate and intensify the policy of political and military detente, to strengthen security in Europe by political means, and to expand mutually beneficial cooperation in all fields. The socialist states expect this from Madrid and will work in this direction. Will this be achieved? It does not depend on us alone.

II

What special contribution can and should Poland make to guaranteeing the success of the Madrid Meeting, and to improving the international situation in Europe?

Poland is faithful to the goals and principles which have defined our foreign policy without change for 36 years. We have bound our independent existence, our sovereignty, our security and development up with socialism, with confidence in our alliance. Since the time of World War II a fundamental assumption of our foreign policy has been and remains a close connection between the security of Poland and the security of entire Europe, and energetic activity in favor of overcoming the division of Europe into opposing military blocs. The results of the Conference in Helsinki were and are treated in Poland as the end of the cold war period. They are a definitive acceptance and universal recognition of the territorial and political realities in Europe, as a result of World War II and post-war development. We have stated more than once that the CSCE results fully meet the vital interests of our country. After all, only under conditions of complete external security, and thus of territorial and political stability in Europe, under conditions of detente, of curbing the arms race, and of cooperation in economy and in other fields with all of the CSCE states, do we have a chance of solving our difficult and painful domestic problems by political means. We should all be aware of this.

However, perhaps not everyone is aware of the fact that the means, rate and results of solving our domestic problems have an impact on the economic position of Poland and the possibility of it playing an active and constructive role in the international arena, and have an impact on the formation of the system in Europe and the formation of East-West relations.

In nationwide debate the fundamental assumption of our foreign policy and our alliances are not questioned by any social group nor by any class. This is very good and very proper. The experience of 36 years of the Polish People's Republic has unanimously shown their propriety and expedience. However, in my opinion, we have too little realization of the feedback of foreign conditioning on the development of our domestic situation and the feedback of our domestic behavior--or lack of some behavior--on foreign conditioning in what we say at present (and we decidedly say too much) and what we do (and we decidedly do too little).

With respect to foreign conditioning, I consider completely pointless the occasional analogies emerging between our current situation and the state at the end of the 18th century. Poland today is not an object of bidding by powers, played with damage to Poland and against her. Today for the first time in centuries Poland has assured foreign security, and borders guaranteed thanks to her alliance with all of her neighbors and thanks to belonging to a joint alliance with them. This is a fact of basic significance which permits Poland to be, not the subject, but the object of international relations. This fact is a fundamental and decisive factor enabling our difficult affairs to be solved without interference from any foreign government in our internal affairs. I am writing specifically about governments, since attempts at such interference have been and are being undertaken in the West on the part of various political groupings, labor organizations, mass media and so on. Not only Western, but also Polish public opinion is convinced that there is a real danger of USSR military intervention in Poland. Various provocations and insinuations are fabricated, and facts are changed for the purpose of creating a new myth of Soviet threat, not only against Western Europe, but also against Poland.

And still everyone should and does know perfectly well the attitude of the leadership of the USSR, which has stated clearly and unambiguously that it considers the development of events in Poland as an internal Polish affair. It has also expressed its confidence that the party, the working class and the Polish nation will solve these problems successfully by political means for the good of socialist Poland. It is primarily due to this attitude that we have escaped attempts at direct interference on the part of other governments. We should be clearly aware of this fact and realize that this was and is a factor of unusually important significance, making it possible for our difficulties to be solved by political means. This presents us with a great opportunity to escape from the most serious crisis in the history of People's Poland, an opportunity which we must not squander. We must be aware of the fact that the major causes of the crisis were our own, Polish errors, not imposed from without by anyone, and that they must be corrected by us without any interference from without. As much as I consider analogies between our current foreign situation and the end of the 18th century as wrong, examining the development of domestic events I must acknowledge that such analogies do unfortunately come to the fore. We are in a critical socioeconomic and moral-political situation, and we should realize it.

If the current state of affairs lasts too long it would have to have a negative effect on our position in Europe, and would lead to making Poland again, as has happened many times in history, a pawn in international relations, and would lead to a radical worsening of East-West relations, destruction of the fruits of the policy of detente, to a complete return to confrontation and to the cold war.

I do not think that this train of thought has to be developed for any soberly thinking person. It is not difficult to imagine what such a development of the foreign and international situation would mean for our national existence, for the development of Poland.

A basic motive in our thought and activity must be the conviction that only the socialist system, that only our socialist alliances, that only our work, domestic stabilization and harmonious development of all fields of our life did, do and can guarantee Poland peace, the security of its borders and independence.

The possibility of conducting an active foreign policy is affected by a whole series of objective and subjective factors, such as system, economic and military position, geographic location, size and shape of the area of the state, historical experiences, traditions, culture, the traits of thought and the character of leading statesmen and so on.

Today it is universally known that the role and position of a given state in the modern world does not depend on its political initiatives or proposals, but primarily on its economic, technical, cultural and intellectual potentials, on its methods and ways of managing and administering, on its methods and ways of solving domestic problems, on the way in which the mind, will and work of the entire nation are organized, and on their qualitative and quantitative effects.

III

The events in Poland have been followed with tremendous interest throughout the world, particularly by the CSCE states-participants. Unfortunately for a long time Poland did not leave the first pages of the daily newspapers, magazines, and radio and television news broadcasts and commentaries. In addition this interest was quite varied, and was sometimes accompanied by interpretation, speculation, actual sensation and attempts to exploit it for the most varied purposes hostile to Poland and socialism. For example, attempts were made in the West to present the events in Poland as directed against socialism and to exploit them to discredit socialism.

However, the decided majority of the Western governments officially recognized them as an internal affair of Poland and declared that they did not intend to interfere in our domestic affairs. This was undoubtedly a positive factor facilitating solution by political means of the conflicts which had arisen. In different kinds of analyses opinions were expressed that the strikes in Poland could not only lead to economic, political and social destabilization, to confrontation, to the use of force and to catastrophe in Poland, but could also lead to destabilization in Europe, to a radical worsening of East-West relations, to a breakup of the Madrid Meeting, to destruction of the fruits of the policy of detente and the CSCE process, to a complete return to confrontation and the cold war, and to intensification of the arms race.

The great feeling of responsibility of party leadership for the fate of the country and the positive development of the situation in Europe, deliberation, patience and determination in striving to solve the conflicts by exclusively political means, and the political maturity and awareness of the workers saved the country from the worst. This is very important, but only the beginning, the opening of the path toward solving the most serious economic, social and politico-moral crisis in the history of the Polish People's Republic.

However, it cannot be and is not a reason for despair and wringing of hands. Crises only threaten catastrophe when we react to them by anticipation, by prejudices from the past, when we try to solve them by old anachronistic methods and attempt to return a situation which has arisen to its point of departure, or when in an obstinate and thoughtless way we try to solve them by the same methods which led to them. No one intends to do this in the current crisis. The proper means and methods of solving it have been pointed out by the Sixth Plenary Congress of the PZPR Central Committee.

This approach of the party and government, and of the workers, toward a solution to the conflict also has serious and positive implications for our foreign policy, and I believe for the further development of the international situation in Europe. Why?

It is a well-known fact that for years we have tried to establish international relations on principles of peaceful coexistence actively and constructively with our socialist allies, that we have opposed every attempt in the international arena to solve any kind of problem through the use of force or threats to use it, that we have spoken out against confrontation and for the peaceful settlement of disputes via consultation and negotiation, and that we have claimed that there are no problems so difficult and complex that, with good will on the part of the interested parties, patience and persistence, they could not be solved by means of dialogue, negotiations and political means. We have made our appearance in the international arena in conformity with these principles.

Well, we have now shown distinctly and clearly that the principles, declarations and words in our policy are not merely for export, but that we have used them completely and consistently and are using them to solve conflicting domestic problems.

Both our domestic socialist policy and our foreign policy have profited from reliability. This permits us to continue to conduct our previous foreign policy in an active and constructive way, but I believe it must be done on a lower level and more rationally without exaggerating the importance of this activity in our propaganda.

At this point it may also be necessary to recall the truism that the position and role of Poland in Europe and in the world are directly dependent on the role and position of Poland in the community of socialist states. For this reason a strengthening of unity, cooperation and power in the states of the socialist community serves the vital interests of Poland, and strengthening internal stabilization and multilateral development of Poland serve the interests of the entire community. It is obvious that this mutually related process does not develop in a mechanical way. Necessary for a positive and harmonious development of this process is a proper correlation between the general principles of building socialism and the concrete specific nature of each country.

Today Poland and the Poles face a great opportunity to perform the work of renewal of our political, social and economic life by our own strength. This can demonstrate to us and to the world that we are able to arrange our common house, Poland, by ourselves so that all Poles can live in it safely and comfortably, in freedom and with genuine social justice.

We are burdened by the tremendous responsibility, not only for the fate of our nation and our country, but also for the further positive development of the situation on our continent. We have little time and limited opportunities to make use of this great opportunity and meet this responsibility. And we cannot reject the substance of this great responsibility to the nation, to domestic and foreign peace and to socialism. I am convinced that we will take advantage of this opportunity.

The problems we face can be solved. To a great extent they were created by the people, and can and must be solved by the people. As rapidly as possible we must elaborate and implement a concrete program to form the politico-social, economic and psychologic structures within the framework of our system to permanently eliminate the sources and causes of our repetitive crises. We have all the data on how to do this. In the current situation we must concentrate on what is most essential to unite all healthy forces in the nation and party to escape from the crisis. In our domestic policy we must completely use what we support in our foreign policy. In domestic controversies and conflicts the problems must be solved by means of rational dialogue and negotiations, and we must concentrate on what unites us, what we have in common, our permanent national interest, and not on what separates and divides us. Today there is a need for us to unite in a genuine front of national unity to jointly find ways and methods of escaping the crisis situation in Poland.

Taking the path, the general direction of which was pointed out by the Sixth Plenary Council of the PZPR Central Committee, in an organized, decisive and disciplined way will not only lead us out of the crisis situation, but will also have a positive impact on the development of the situation in Europe, on the continuation of the CSCE process, on the success of the Madrid Meeting, and also on the strengthening and intensification of security and cooperation in Europe.

We have all the data to secure, for the present and future generations of Poles, our basic values and vital national interests, the conditions for the peaceful development of Poland in independence and social justice. However, for this purpose it is necessary for us to unite and organize our thoughts, our wills and our work. After all, as Norwid wrote: "Through the organization of sacrifice and patriotism, the fruit of our efforts will be raised to the tenth power in results. (...) The fatherland is a moral union."

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We hope that the proper conclusions and other points will be drawn from the course of events in Poland. I believe that our partners in the West will be convinced that many joint efforts are still necessary for dialogue and negotiation to lead to complete stabilization of the situation in Europe.

I am confident that all of us, in the East and West, the North and South, will come to the conclusion that Europe is our common house in which we are condemned to live together, whether we like it or not, and that all European states will concentrate primarily on what will strengthen the foundations of security for this house by political means, to strengthen, preserve and spread the process of detente, to consistently and effectively aim at curbing the arms race and at disarmament, with concentration on cooperation and not on confrontation, on everything which unites us and which does not separate us. We have a good instrument for fulfilling this goal in the declaration of principles and other resolutions of the Final Act in Helsinki.

We Poles are currently more convinced than ever before, both in the light of our historical experience and in our modern experience, of the fact that the people have no alternative for the policy of peaceful coexistence, detente, disarmament and cooperation.

The Madrid Meeting is a good occasion for the joint efforts of all participating states to add to the authentic stream of the process initiated by CSCF by means of strong new incentives, so very necessary at present.

6806

CSO: 2600/244

ADJUSTMENT OF YOUNG NAVAL OFFICERS TO INITIAL ASSIGNMENTS

Warsaw PRZEGLAD MORSKI in Polish No 7-8, Jul-Aug 80 pp 21-24

[Article by LCDR Jozef Reka]

[Text] Every year graduates of Westerplatte Heroes Memorial Naval Academy [MSMW] arrive at their ships and begin a new chapter of their lives. Watching the service of several years of young officers I wish to share some remarks and observations concerning the process on the first service post. It appears from the experience that the young officer's success in service is dependent upon a few essential factors related to each other. One should include among others: the degree of mastered knowledge at the university, the psychological attitude toward performing their service duties, the capacity to adjust to new life conditions, and service in a collective and on ships, help and kindness in relation to supervisors and older mates, personal characteristics (strong will, energy, capacity to coexist with people) and also civil and family status.

A hierarchy of these factors is not essential, because all of them have a definite influence in achieving positive results in service work. However, independent of circumstances being more or less favorable, success depends in the first place on thorough work, perseverance internal discipline and on the attitude of the naval officer alone.

The MSMW gives its pupils wide knowledge in leadership, education and training. At the university there are no conditions to achieve practical experience in this field. Acquiring military knowledge is not tantamount to the ability to utilize it in practice--practical work is much more difficult. For this reason, it is necessary to give help to a young officer right from the moment of his arrival at the unit. It is also in the interest of the leadership alone. Guarding the young naval officer, knowledgeably accustoming him to work and to life on the ship, allows the young navy officer a quick mastering of leadership technique, training and education, and to leaders--the realization of tasks awaiting the ship and the crew. But the most effective help of supervisors will not do one bit of good unless the naval officer demonstrates a defined will and personal engagement in striving for good results and proper performance of new duties.

Confrontation of Theory and Practice

A young navy officer beginning his service on a ship confronts his image of the work environment and service demands with his own capabilities. There is no need to prove that a graduate's faith and conviction about rightness of our goals and conditions is

an important factor from the general social point of view. This fact finds confirmation in satisfaction received, from concrete work and service, and also from respect of the military environment.

The adaptation process of a young naval officer during the first month of work and service is dependent upon many conditions, both organizational and social. Among others, the problem is concerned with atmosphere, the relationship with a naval officer as reflected by naval society as a whole, through their elders and experienced fellows and supervisors. In their daily behavior they may enrich all the positive features and aspirations of youth. It is up to them whether they overtake the best models of service and perform fair and effective work up to their best capabilities and highest professional ambitions.

The adaptation problem of graduates of the MSMW on ships arrives on the agenda each year at the moment when professional service begins. Experience shows that socio-professional adaptation of youth cannot be a short-lived action in the organizational character. It must be one of the basic rules of cadre activities on a ship and one of the most important fields of politicoeducational work.

We remember our own experience on our arrival for the first time at the new service place, crews or ships and reporting to the commander, the first meeting with ship's company--this leaves in the memory an indelible impression for many years. This is why proper organization in the reception of newly arrived officers is strongly emphasized in our units. It has already become a tradition that on officers' arrival day, the leadership of the tactical union meets them. Also taking part in this meeting are the leaders of the ship's company and flag specialist-officers. During casual conversation, officers become acquainted with the peculiarities of service, the history of the unit, its achievements, current problems and tasks. They are also informed about the conditions of the service, its demands and the difficulties which they may encounter. Officers, on their part, present their family situations, housing and other related problems. Similar meetings are conducted by the leadership of a crew and a ship.

Continued conversation, its atmosphere and tone are to convince a young officer that the leader will treat him as an equal partner in the officers' collective with whom from the first moment he can share worries and joys and from whom he can expect real help in the general endeavor. Such a conversation mobilizes a young officer and introduces him into the convenient working environment in the unit.

It is necessary, however, to make some essential stipulations here. The atmosphere in which the introductory conversation is conducted should not and ought not under any circumstances give the impression to a young officer that he will be helped in everything. The conversation should convince him that from the very first day of service he has to reveal independence, initiative, fortitude, the right ideological attitude; be demanding of subordinates, disciplined and tactful to both superiors and subordinates.

A very essential problem pervading our unit leaders has for many years been a concern for housing young officers. Even the warmest words of reception will not bring results unless they are supported by action. The officer will not be helped in arranging his normal lifestyle.

Many officers contract marriages during the first months of their service and sometimes they even do it during the university period. There are those who maintain that marriage contracted at that time stabilizes the life of a young officer. Experience shows, however, that early marriages are often disadvantageous for an officer from the viewpoint of his start in the unit; it also disadvantageously influences stabilization of marriage, because along with the numerous responsibilities in service, family problems also occur. These start frequently with a long period of waiting for housing, while the life of a young couple in separation and accumulation of other problems may lead to unforeseen complications in service and family life.

Many officers are absorbed in managing and arranging their houses, looking for jobs for their wives, the birth of a child, etc. In that situation conflicts occur, particularly when the proportion between private and professional engagement is disturbed.

Help and the Best Experience of Youth

Before taking up his first post, the officer is required to pass a number of exams during his assistantship period. Then he has to acquire concrete instructions and documents, become precisely acquainted with armament and technical equipment, possibilities of its usage, master many problems directly related to the first official post. Then the officer approaches the final exam for independently performing a navy watch. After he receives positive results he is sent to an independent service post. The time for achieving the right to perform official duties independently depends on the diligence and work of the officer. The acquisition of independent rights is quite an important event for an officer. It gives him a feeling of security and value among collective mates, increases energy to work, and at the same time gives better results.

During the first period of practical activity a young officer encounters many difficulties. The commander of the ship has to help the officer in a thoughtful and planned manner in overcoming them. First of all he has to be helped to feel reassured, and in overcoming nervousness, which is typical for everyone.

Granting help to an officer, a commander should not relieve him, nor do the job for him. It happens sometimes that the supervisor, becoming impatient over the young officer's failures or mistakes, begins on his own to perform his tasks. This is a dangerous practice. Under such conditions, a young officer will never acquire the traits of a good commander: assertiveness, initiative, imagination, and he will not take proper care of equipment, armament and his subordinates. He will become resourceless. One ought to avoid such "help" which kills many initiative, creates apathy, and undermines the officer's faith in his own abilities. Rightly understood help should consist of creating proper working conditions for a young officer.

In daily practice, one may encounter an opposite phenomenon, dangerous to the initiation process of young officers in service. It takes place in the situation when the supervisor believes that knowledge and skills acquired at the university automatically predestine an officer to be a good commander of a fighting division, and leave a young officer alone. Such an approach is inadmissible. Both overprotection and passivity in relation to a young officer are equally damaging. The role of an experienced ship commander relies exactly on forcing a young officer in a tactful way to perform independent work by creating proper conditions and simultaneously helping him to command.

A young officer ought to look very realistically at the duties awaiting him. He has to be conscious of the many difficulties awaiting him. Help, care, advice, direction--are very essential elements in educating young officers, but it is a secondary task. The most essential here is the effort of the young officers, their diligence, discipline, endurance and will to overcome difficulties and constant improvement of political and military knowledge. Young officers have to remember that their education did not end with the moment of receiving the first officer's degree, only one stage of learning in which theory prevailed has been accomplished and another stage begun in which practice will prevail.

Unity of theory and practice creates perspectives of good and effective work, systematically preserving and expanding mastered knowledge. Professional service of an officer carried also a creative postulate. One cannot stop individual development on leaving the university campus. A young officer has to feel responsibility and the need to pay back what he has already received, because only by becoming an officer he is already utilizing, in part, the opportunity which our motherland has created for him.

9818

CSO: 2600/218

PARTY HISTORY, 'NATIONAL-INTERNATIONAL' RELATIONSHIP REVIEWED

Bucharest VIITORUL SOCIAL in Romanian Mar-Apr 81 pp 181-191

[Article by Mihnea Gheorghiu]

[Text] The known documents pertaining to early sociopolitical thought and working-class and socialist movement in our country take us back more than 150 years of history. Only 60 years have passed since, in the spring of 1921, "in May, when roses bloom" -- in the words of a poet in those days-- the history of the working-class and socialist movement in Romania marked a new stage of organization and political awareness, through the memorable Congress of socialists that certified the birth of the "Communist Party of Romania." In that spring, of the First Congress of the Communist Party of Romania, the nation was just celebrating the 100th anniversary of the 1821 social and national revolution, headed by Tudor Vladimirescu, the people's leader who knew that "Homeland is the people, not the clique of plunderers!"

The last decade saw the publication of a vast series of such documents (the five volumes issued by the Institute of Historical and Sociopolitical Studies under the CC of the RCP and other volumes), which reviewed, with many historical arguments, the periods between 1821 and 1893 (the year when the Social-Democratic Party of Workers in Romania was set up), then the following periods 1893-1900, 1900-1909, 1910-1915 and 1916-1921. They reflect the multi-lateral activity of our working-class movement, the growth and tremendous development of the revolutionary impetus of working masses displayed in the great class battles in whose crucible the Romanian Communist Party took shape; they survey the process of political and ideological clarification in the working class in our country, a process which was embodied in the triumph of the revolutionary current and the transformation of the socialist party into the communist party. It is known that within the framework of this process, a keen struggle of opinions, a strong political and ideological confrontation developed.

In an overall, simpler and more comprehensive historical division, the development of Romanian sociopolitical thought may be covered in three somewhat distinct periods: Romanian pre-Marxist socialism, modern scientific socialism and contemporary, this last mentioned period covering the last decade and a half, the most fertile stage in the country's history, that

marked a genuine turning point in tackling the problems of the socioeconomic development of this country in a new spirit, establishing a creative and dynamic outlook, alien to any dogmatic isolation and ensuring broad access to the requirements of life, to domestic and international realities, that are characteristic of Romania along the path of building a multilaterally developed socialist society.

One of the engrossing and debated issues of the periodization of the history of the international communist and working-class movement involves its continuity or discontinuity, depending on the seniority of parties in various countries, specific input, originality and diversity of the stages covered by each of them, before and after the Comintern took over international leadership, and, in the end, after the abolition of this body, more exactly after the conclusion of the (Stalinist) monocentrist period.

As far as we are concerned, RCP ideology did not and does not make account of discontinuity, of a "break" in the historical thread, this stand contradicting not only the facts, but also the materialistic-historical and dialectical concept on the progress of social structures and social awareness.

The dialectical continuity which we have in mind consists in surveying the correct course of our party's history, intertwining the general laws with the characteristics of growth under the specific conditions in the history of the Romanian people, in an uninterrupted and inseparable direction: people-party-people, just as today, on 23 August, working people in our country parade under the twin flags: the red banner and the tricolor. Clearly defining the relation between theory and practice, the ideology of our party unequivocally speaks up, in the RCP Program, for a creative scientific socialism applied to Romania's sociopolitical and economic realities.

As for its international relations, our party, not even 60 years ago, did it accept a status of subordination and barracking, at the order of "headquarters" alien to the actual interests of the Romanian people (as it erroneously occurred for a while, until there was a return to a better situation) and today "consistently works for the development of friendship and solidarity relations with all communist and workers parties, for the reinforcement of their unity and cooperation based on equality and mutual respect, the right of each party to independently shape its political line, revolutionary strategy and tactics. Moreover, we promote broad cooperation with socialist and social-democratic parties, with other democratic parties, with national liberation movements, with all progressive, anti-imperialist forces, maintaining that the solidarity of all these forces is of outstanding importance in achieving detente and peace." [1]

The huge array of revolutionary battles for freedom and democracy closely blends with the organic web of mankind's history, even if modern politologists did not theoretically agree on the exact sphere and contents of the notions of "revolution" and "democracy" and of "freedom." Therefore it was possible to state that, in their behalf, heroes and martyrs, admirable deeds, but also reprehensible crimes piled up. The glorious history of communist and workers

parties could not be detached from all this, because it was not separated from the rest of modern and contemporary history. Ideas emerge and grow, some vanish into oblivion, others reappear and develop on a different path, fraught with the experience accumulated by the ensuing generations. Personalities neglected, or eliminated, in their time, are reconsidered and brought up to date.

About this checkered history, whose effects and consequences are integral parts of international actuality, both socialist and capitalist, there were written and there appear many books and reviews, which, of course, contain surveys and information about us as well. Inherently, incomplete analyses, errors or calumnies are spread. For instance: "The Romanian Communist Party was set up on 8 May 1921. During most of the interwar period RCP was outlawed. Factioned and controlled by the communist International dominated by the Soviets, the party had too little popular support." [2] Many bourgeois publishing houses issue Marxist-inspired literature, at readers' request, usually pseudo-Marxist surveys, in which often impassioned "interpretations" border on ignorance. A major industry of anticommunist literature, but also of "objective" information on socialist parties and countries is now developing in the United States. Such surveys even have an attractive publishing appeal, especially as they are printed with the cooperation of major American universities.

Therefore any clarifications and real judgements of value are welcome, to supplement existing ones.

The deep, moral and political roots of our party exist in the progressive movement of the profound strata of Romanian society, of the people's masses, who rose, within the framework of successive uprisings and revolutions, against exploitation and oppression, for freedom and social justice, for the progress of our nation, preparing the new society of today, of our socialist, independent and thriving homeland. In this revolutionary process, in this profound progressive change, for a long time a major role was played by the peasantry, as was pointed out on many occasions by party secretary general Nicolae Ceausescu. This fundamental statement was also sounded by some of the old RCP leaders at times when -- under the influence of some theories adopted indiscriminately -- there was the tendency to neglect an historical truth: "the completion of the bourgeois-democratic revolution and its transformation into socialist revolution is tied in Romania -- more than in Western Europe -- to the struggle to enlist the peasantry." [3]

The secular progress of democratic and socialist ideas in Romania originates in program documents and acts, dating from the same time as do their counterparts in Europe, because even utopian socialism had penetrated the Romanian Principalities, had won supporters among progressive intellectuals and materialized in unique forms, such as the Scaieni-Prahova phalanstery, created in 1835 on the initiative of Teodor Diamant. Then, the 1848 revolution and its contacts with the revolutionary movement in the West facilitated early acquaintance with the program of the International founded by Marx and Engels. All these factors are interrelated. They exerted a specific

influence on the progress of the revolutionary struggle, the appearance of the first forms of worker organization in Romania, in the second half of last century, up to the direct link with the creators of scientific socialism.

The development of big industry and finance, in interested cooperation with the big landed estates, together with the intensive penetration of foreign capital into the key sectors of the national economy, promoted the objective and subjective conditions of class struggles -- of diverse intensity and reaching different levels of political power -- in which the working class found itself on the same side of the barricade with the exploited peasantry and the socialist intelligentsia, headed by the revolutionary proletariat. This intrinsic sociopolitical coalition is another characteristic of the working-class movement in Romania, during its extensive period when it was understood that "the proletariat is a special social category, closely tied to other social categories, which characterize a particular society, a form of community life. The technology and degree of productivity reached by society determine a specific form of production, the capitalist form, determine particular relations among people, the differentiation of society in specific classes, and the struggle between them. All these -- the proletariat, big industry, the degree of technical development, labor productivity, specific classes, specific struggle between classes, and so forth -- precisely are those objective conditions that are needed for the transformation of society, just as the degree of development of the proletariat, its revolutionary culture and other factors are the subjective conditions needed for the transformation of society." [4]

The assessments of party secretary general Nicolae Ceausescu on the creation and the historic role of the Romanian Communist Party from the outset highlighted the continuity and overall scale of the revolutionary process, pointing out that from the writings of Marx and Engels it follows that they sympathetically viewed the heroic struggle conducted by the Romanian people for national and social emancipation, for unification into one national state, for wresting off the yoke of foreign oppression and dominance, at a time when there also was an intensification of the relations between Romanian socialists on both sides of the Carpathian Mountains and closer and closer ties were created among the proletariats in Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania. The workers' stronger and stronger actions of struggle and organization and the peasant uprisings in the last 20 years of the last century generated and were generated by the economic, sociopolitical and ideological evolution of Romanian society, in the context when "the socialist movement in Romania had become, after various hesitations, purely Marxist, both in terms of theory and practice" (Constantin Mille), resulting in the foundation of a political, workers' party, united and strong on a national scale.

Here is how Nicolae Ceausescu describes and characterizes the creation of the political party of the working class in Romania, in a page that asserts itself today in our historical literature and therefore we make a point of providing it in full [5]:

"The proceedings of the congress, that was held in Bucharest, from 31 March-3 April 1893, hailed enthusiastically and followed with profound interest by the working class from all over the country, stated the foundation of the Marxist political party of the working class -- the Social-Democratic Party of Workers in Romania. This event has gone down in our history as an episode of outstanding importance for the destiny of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and working masses, as the point which marks the achievement of the political organization of the working class on a national scale. The party of the working class in Romania, founded in 1893, on the basis of the principles of scientific socialism, of the class theory of Marx and Engels, from the first moment took upon itself the historical mission of heading the revolutionary struggle for the seizure of political power by the proletariat and the other working masses in town and country, for the socialist transformation of Romanian society. The year 1893 is the year of the birth of the revolutionary, vanguard detachment of the working class in Romania. That is why we can rightfully state that the actual beginnings of the Romanian Communist Party -- that furthers the noblest fighting traditions of the people and is deeply rooted in the working-class, socialist movement in the second half of the last century -- coincide with the beginning of the activity of the workers' party guided by the Marxist revolutionary theory, created 80 years ago."

The subsequent course of the organizational and political-ideological development of the party resulted, after some previsible meanders, in the following decade, in a better cohesion of the revolutionary forces of the working class, the 1910 Socialist Congress stating the foundation of the Social-Democratic Party of Romania, that solemnly proclaims itself "offspring of the old socialist root, which nothing could destroy," the natural continuer of the Party created in 1893.

We do not plan to rewrite the prewar history of the party of Romanian socialists, who, in the spring of 1921, numbered about 150,000 members and sympathizers from all the territory of the reunified homeland, a fact which required the restructuring of the party for the purpose of the confrontation with the bourgeoisie, for political power. From the huge volume of documents that could furnish to the researcher of our party's history a number of very useful data, in order to understand the exact situation of the following political stage, some are missing from the archive files and were not yet recovered.

Hence, we further quote the explanatory, respective passage from the speech given by the leader of our party, on the 80th anniversary of the creation of the political party of the working class, concerning that period: "During this period, the prominent Romanian socialists maintain close contacts with representatives of the Third International, with Vladimir Ilyich Lenin Himself, with whom they hold discussions on the conditions under which the affiliation of the party to the Communist International was supposed to take place. Voicing from the outset their support for the Leninist principles of a new type of party, they also formulated a number of objections in regard to the

Comintern's interference in establishing the makeup of the party executive organs -- rightfully considering this as a legitimate right of each party -- and in regard to a number of erroneous analyses and assessments made by the Comintern on the situation in Romania. The correctness of these standpoints of Romanian socialists clearly stood out in light of the historic experience of the working-class movement in the last half of century.

Responding to the objective requirements of our country's social development, the representatives of Romanian socialists decide at the May 1921 Congress, by unanimous vote, on the transformation of the Socialist party into the Romanian Communist Party. This helps to elevate to a higher stage the activity of the vanguard, revolutionary party of the working class in Romania. The communist party, the direct continuer of the socialist, revolutionary movement of the party of the working class founded in 1893, carried further and enhanced, in the new context of Romania's development, the fight for social and national emancipation. Precisely therefore we assess this point as a crossroad in the development of new Romania."

The chief, unique and memorable trait in the creation of this great party, 60 years ago, involves its strength and cohesion on a national scale, this being the first political party in Romania that presented itself united and representative territorially, organizationally and nationally, after the proclamation of the Romanian national and unified state. Moreover, it was the only democratic party, representing all the categories of working people in town and country and all the working class in Romania because the half million trade-unionized workers constituted the declared source of cadres of the socialist-communist party and it seemed natural for the chairman of trade unions, worker G. Cristescu deputy to the Parliament, to be the first secretary general of the RCP.

The subsequent events could confirm, or invalidate, some of the assessments of the executives of the young Communist Party of Romania, which after only 3 years of activity went underground, a decision also insufficiently supported by the documents from that period in our possession. Also unfortunately a part of the former party did not follow the decision adopted at the 1921 Congress, and formed a separate social-democratic party, and this increased the political split among the working class in Romania.

Forced by the repressive forces of the bourgeois-landlord state to heroic survival and using the most diversified forms of struggle, the Communist Party of Romania continued to consistently possess the ability of being the organizer and leader of the working class, in the harsh battles that followed. This ability increased as the party leadership was held by the direct representatives of the working class, by the sons of the working class who lived and were active in Romania. The big antifascist demonstration, the people's march on 1 May 1939 conducted under the keynote of the unity of communists and socialists was a telling proof of unity with the people, a sine qua non of the victories of communists in any country. The restoration of the organizational and political unity of the working class thus stood out as a necessary and decisive goal in the victorious fight for seizure of political power and construction of socialism in Romania.

It is known that it was not until the end of the 18th century that capitalist relations of production began to appear in the Romanian Principalities. One of the most topical theoretical questions of modern revolutions for social and national liberation provided Romanian historical research with a fertile ground of investigation within the framework of the recent scientific studies and sessions devoted to the revolutionary movement in Transylvania headed by Horia, 200 years ago. The (majority) Romanian population in those days was reduced by the oppression of the (minority) foreign feudalism to an unjust and preposterous state, through the abusive modification of its status as a nation with natural legal rights, into a social category deprived of its legitimate rights, in a typical relationship triggered by the relation: exploiters-exploited, which inevitably generates historically the revolutionary situation. In the long history of the Romanian people's struggle for justice and freedom this typical situation most often had the specific character of struggle against foreign plunder and invasion (with which the native exploiter often was in a position of complicity, antipatriotic and antidemocratic), as it appears, 40 years after Horia, in Tudor Vladimirescu's revolutionary proclamation, later in the documents of Romanian 1848 revolutionary fighters and in other subsequent documents, whose reverberations reappear in the programs of the socialist movement in Romania.

The oppressed social classes and categories (and in the first place the proletariat in town and country, in action) constitute the determining factor in the crucial sociopolitical changes in modern and contemporary history; however, one cannot unequivocally maintain the primacy of the class over the nation and so much the less go as far as expressly ignore the national phenomenon, as did some dogmatic ideologues taking advantage of the fact that Marx did not give a specific definition to the nation and only indicated, synonymously, other sociopolitical and economic realities, such as: "country," "state," "leading class or "society" itself.

Hence, one could notice that the emergence and historical development of national liberation movements in our century have also changed the theoretical data of the national problem, proving that national liberation is not necessarily the result of social liberation and that sometimes is its very condition. World history of the century also demonstrates that in many of the known international conflicts (regardless of the social system of the countries involved, sometimes even "socialist countries"), national identity awareness markedly prevailed over class consciousness. The theory of class struggle -- formulated more than a century ago in an incipient stage -- must be studied thoroughly and substantiated on the basis of the arguments provided by the new, internal and international, structures of contemporary society.

Does the worker have a homeland? The initial formula was distorted. The epigones of noncreative Marxism perpetuated too long also another theory, according to which, while accepting the nations as such, they categorize them on the criterion of size and material strength, qualifying the bigger nations to integrate the others, smaller or dispersed ("remnants of large nations"), regarded as incapable of liberating themselves. They go as far as to glorify

last century's colonialism ("by conquering India, the British introduced there the greatest social revolution Asia has ever known"). Similar assessments were also made with regard to other European empires, invaders of territories from the bodies of smaller countries. The Romanian socialists from all over the country with justified patriotism hailed the achievement of the Romanian unified national state in 1918. The homeland of our workers was called and is called Romania. In his interview granted to the journal L'UNITA, a few years ago, Nicolae Ceausescu, the secretary general of the RCP, stated: "True, we have, already a long time ago, been criticizing some old theses -- which, moreover, at the time of its existence, the Comintern, itself, abandoned -- according to which Romania was a multinational state. This thesis did not correspond to the facts, it did not take into consideration the fact that the establishment of the Romanian unified national state was an objective requirement of Romania's development -- a fact about which in their days Marx and later Lenin, as early as 1914, spoke."

The Marxist theoretical legacy on the relation between the class character and the national character also constitutes the starting point for the development of the concept on the national-international relationship. The absence of a finalized and universally valid Marxist concept, in current politicalology, however, enhances the complexity of the matter in our time, specifically where internationalism is conceptualized in an ahistorical hermeneutics which is instrumental in deepening the complexity of the world context.

In tackling all these issues, the strength and experience of the socialist and working-class movement are decisive factors. Therefore, internationalism must be achieved in a new practical manner, namely it should proceed from recognition of diversities, accepting the possibility of testing different experiences, the right of each people to choose their own destiny, because "internationalism," of course, cannot be the mechanical sum-total of national interests, but, also, it cannot be an abstract concept, beyond the specific interests of the working class in each country and in all countries, interests converging in mutual respect of national sovereignty, in promotion of cooperation and amity among peoples.

In the odyssey of the idea, for he who really believes in mankind's destiny of peace and freedom, there are no antagonistic contradictions between "national" and "universal". There were and continue to be fundamental contradictions between serfs and feudal lords, between exploited proletarians and exploiter employers, between monopolies and the whole nation, or between "multinational trusts" and working people in all the lands where these trusts operate. In the last cases, the national question takes on different dimensions, involved in the defining traits of present-day advanced societies and we can decipher the prospects of their historical development at various levels: economic and technical-organizational, sociopolitical and ideological, and so forth.

In the so-called convergence doctrine, in which similar but also contradictory theories mix, from J. K. Galbraith to M. Duverger, fashionable today, and others -- especially generated by the incertitude on the relations between the two systems, in the context of the new technical-scientific revolution,

the energy crisis, and so forth -- the evolution of the national-international relationship is not clarified but triggers new and serious confusions, because of the ambiguity and diversity of the solutions advocated for the future society, more and more evidently threatened by the greater "global polarization" in a few zones of supranational influence, by the danger of the redivision of the world upon criteria in which the "disappearance of the state and of the nation" no longer presents even the theoretical guarantee of world peace from the texts of the classics of scientific socialism, but quite the opposite. If we were to reduce the sphere of all reasonings to the "freely consented" fatalism of blocs and great protectorate, one would implicitly come to the resolution of problems by their elimination, to the politicoeconomic and even military flattening out of basic sociohistorical realities, to minorization of national cultures (of "small nations" of course), to isolation of (disturbing) ideas of equality, freedom, and humanity and of their spokesmen.

Europe -- the continent where the working-class movement, the Marxist theory and the first Socialist Revolution appeared -- is concerned with the so-called process of bipolarism, of alienation of the theory of convergences on a world scale, including the theory on the hierarchical relation between national and international (which revolutionary practice from a past period had justified in view of the "immediate world socialist revolution").

Proceeding from the well-known premise of Marx that "only a free nation can meet its internationalist obligations," it appears clearly that a hierarchical system of relations does not strengthen the international in the system of the national-international relationship, but, conversely, it encourages and solidifies the nationalist and hegemonistic trends and brings us back into the world of unrealistic and obsolete conclusions or conclusions doomed to a sad future.

The historical vocation of solidarity of the working class cannot be translated into the terms of linear functions and directions, of a controlled mechanical relation, but requires respect for the objective differences of interests among countries and peoples and for the domestic and foreign contradictions founded on them, and the coordination of these interests in the spirit of solidarity and class consciousness can be achieved only on the basis of the recognized principles of equality and independence, because the disappearance of the nation also is an act of disappearance of the class.

The interaction of the European and world political and socioeconomic and cultural history, the interpenetration of the history of one people with the histories of other peoples, the dialectical relation between national history and world history, these are a few of the ideas accepted today by most historians and politologists in all lands, just as the role of social classes, of the people's masses, in deciding the historic destinies of nations has won doubtless priority in the historiography of the last decade. The highlighting, in this context, by the RCP secretary general and the emphasizing of the role of the nation as "a powerful factor of progress and civilization in the modern world" represent a current theoretical and extremely relevant input into the classic definition of the nation and into

the concept which lies in its center at this moment which is decisive for understanding the expanding ethnical world in some regions of this planet, for the new internationalism and the fight for peace, in a world without precedent in tension and revolutionary transformation.

Theoretically, the notion of Revolution expresses "a radical and sudden change of a political system or of a social structure, with the active support of a large part of the population." The political revolution is a basic component of the social revolution which dynamizes and achieves the transition of state power from the hands of the class which is obsolete historically into the hands of the progressive class.

These theories, which we would call "classic," do not belong only to our century, or only to the classics of scientific socialism who formulated the concept of the socialist revolution, but come from an older period, from that of the preparation and completion of the great democratic revolutions in Europe and other continents, started on the basis of progressive slogans and ideas of "liberty, equality and fraternity," of "human and civil rights," of the "sovereignty of the people" and the right of nations to be masters in their country and decide their own destiny on this soil. All the national liberation movements were revolutionary political acts, of a smaller or greater historical importance. In light of the social and socioeconomic character inherent in every revolution known in history, the political sciences set for revolutionary phenomena some common parameters or "objective laws," from which the specific processes of each individual revolution would result; there also existed the tendency involving some mandatory "patterns."

In light of the fact that fascism emerged only after World War I and imperialism is no older than one century, the modern and contemporary era offers us more and more examples of more markedly antifascist or anti-imperialist national liberation movements and revolutions.

The national liberation movement implicitly expresses a policy of national sovereignty. As far as our country is concerned -- having the tragic experience of the 1939/1940 events and of the consequences of the Vienna fascist and imperialist Diktat -- the victorious act on 23 August 1944 also represented the first major assertion of Romania, of the independent and unanimous will of the Romanian people for an end to the policy of domination, of strength, and "diktat," in order to ensure the free and independent development of all nations, a primary condition for establishing a climate of justice and peace in the world. In this manner, the antifascist and anti-imperialist nature of our Revolution for National and Social Liberation at the end of the last world war appears as a premise and a permanence of the very subsequent political program of the party and state, of socialist, sovereign and independent Romania.

In his writings, Nicolae Ceausescu -- dwelling on the 23 August 1944 political act -- made a profound analysis of the revolutionary situation and of the organizational, strategical and tactical principles, which, in the context of a revolutionary political crisis, on a national level -- hence, containing

the experience of all social categories — prompted our party to take the initiative and then the leadership at that decisive historical point, expressed by: national armed insurrection, overthrow of the military-fascist dictatorship and further the War against the Hitler and Horthy occupants for liberation of the country, alongside the anti-Hitlerite coalition, alongside the Soviet army.

In other countries, the overthrow of the former regime involved civil war or parliamentary and extraparliamentary battles, palace revolutions, or coups d'etat, some even with a counterrevolutionary and antinational character.

The most favorable form of carrying out our political revolution, under those specific conditions, was determined by our party on the basis of knowledge of the characteristic conditions and particularities in our country. The national and popular character of the Romanian liberation revolution stems from the longer revolutionary process that involves the historical struggle for national and social liberation, which in our country began in 1784, in Transylvania, with Horia's revolution, continued in Oltenia and Walachia, with Tudor Vladimirescu's revolution, matured and expanded in all Romanian Principalities, Walachia, Moldavia and Transylvania, in 1848 and the same whole process resulted, at the cost of heavy sacrifice, in winning of Independence and creation of the unified national State. The appearance of the organized proletariat, the creation of the Party of the Working Class of Romania in 1893, left a deep imprint in the history of the Romanian people: the working class, the Party, the communists manifesting themselves in modern Romania as the most revolutionary force of society, proclaiming on their fighting banner the elimination of any form of exploitation of the Romanian people and of cohabiting nationalities. In Romania, the liberation fight, concomitantly and progressively, focused on the country's emancipation from foreign economic and political domination, from under the exploitation of typically imperialist countries, including German imperialism.

Our party, its theorists, the coryphaei of sociopolitical thought in Romania have emphasized the structural unity of the national revolution with the social revolution under the conditions of capitalism and imperialism, then under the conditions of the emergence and establishment of fascism in several countries (Italy, Germany, Hungary, Bulgaria, and others) — because the Romanian people did not put up with the fascist "yoke" and any kind of yoke and also, freedom was not granted to them by others. Our program and plan of action, of our antifascist resistance took on both the political and social tasks, in accordance with the exact situation of bourgeois-democratic Romania, which, 41 years ago, was surrounded by dangers on all borders and lacked any international support.

The exact historical-political understanding of the catastrophe into which the entire nation was pushed by the antipopular regime and of the disasters of the following war mobilized the clearest minds of the people, in all social strata, the entire Romanian army and its commandants, including the monarchy.

In this battle, not a drop of Romanian blood was shed in fratricide fights, there was no need for a civil war, because it occurred in a national consensus. The wise policy of broad political alliances of the Romanian Communist Party (an exemplary policy, if we judge soundly, even for the revolutionary situation today, in other countries) facilitated the conducting of the revolutionization process, the insurrectional stage and the preparation of the consecutive political act: the liberating war against the foreign, fascist and imperialist invaders.

The lessons of history present themselves today as a mobilizing incentive to action for ensuring peace and international understanding and cooperation.

FOOTNOTES

1. Speech by Nicolae Ceausescu at the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in SCINTEIA of 25 February 1981.
2. Richard F. Staar (publisher) 1980, "Yearbook on International Communist Affairs," Hoover Institution Press, Stanford, 1980, p 59.
3. Lucretiu Patrascanu, "Studii Economice si Social-Politice 1925-1945" [Economic and Sociopolitical Studies 1925-1945], Bucharest, Editura Politica, 1978, p 204.
4. Constantin Dobrogeanu-Gherea, "Opere Complete" [Complete Works], Vol 5, Bucharest, Editura Politica, 1978, p 306.
5. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romania pe Drumul Construirii Societatii Socialiste Multilaterale Dezvoltate" [Romania Along the Road of Building a Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society], Vol VIII, Bucharest, Editura Politica, 1972, pp 262-263.

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ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSION ON PREVENTING, COMBATTING CRIME

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 12, 20 Jun 81 pp 24-30, 52

[Roundtable discussion led by Ioan Ceterchi, vice president of the Academy of Social and Political Sciences and minister of justice,]

[Text] The Academy of Social and Political Sciences, together with ERA SOCIALISTA, organized a discussion on the subject "The Concept and Practice of Preventing and Combatting Crime." The discussion, led by Comrade Ioan Ceterchi, vice president of the Academy of Social and Political Sciences, offered a broad exchange of opinions on improving the legal framework for normalizing social relations and the way in which measures are applied in reeducation and the social reintegration of those who have committed crimes and in preventing any violations of the country's laws.

Taking part in the discussions were Prof Ioan Ceterchi, minister of justice; George Basiliade, scientific researcher at the Center for Research in Youth Problems; Dr Constantin Bulai; Dr Nicolae Dan, head of the Central Laboratory for Criminal Examination; Ioan Filip, secretary of the party committee at Bucharest's Electroaparataj Enterprise; Nicoleta Iliescu, legal consultant in the Ministry of Justice; Dr Simion Ionescu, prosecutor; Constantin Nuta, head of the Militia General Inspectorate and deputy minister of the Interior; Dr Nicolae Ion Olaru, psychologist; Dr Iulian Poenaru, adviser to the Legislative Council; Dr Teofil Pop, director in the Ministry of Justice; Nicolae Popovici, the country's general prosecutor; Georgeta Dan-Spinoiu, psychologist; Simona Petrovici, legal consultant in the Ministry of Justice; Ioan Salajan, president of the Supreme Court. We publish a shorthand report of the discussion in shortened form.

Ioan Ceterchi: Our discussion is taking place in a context favorable to direct, very open, scientific discussions which utilize the good results obtained in this area of social-economic life and, at the same time, analyze the shortcomings, the errors--some inherent--and in outlining the way and means for improving the activity of social leadership, of which, undoubtedly, the implementation of justice also is a part. The problem of educating the masses in the spirit of socialist awareness and respect for the party's decisions and the country's laws holds an important place in the party's program, as an integral part of the policy of creating the multilaterally developed socialist society and the struggle to form the new man and to achieve the multilateral development of his personality.

As we know, the overwhelming majority of citizens respect the country's laws and standards of social behavior out of conviction. At the same time, not for one moment should we ignore that some laws are still being disregarded, that certain particularly serious criminal acts still are being committed--acts of violence, robbery and so forth--and that some people are disregarding the standards of behavior. Proceeding from these facts, our party's strategy of combatting antisocial acts and action against those who violate the laws of the state and the standards of socialist ethics and equity are founded on a scientific concept of the world and life and on application of the general laws of socialist construction to Romanian realities. Also resulting from this is its original policy on the ways for preventing and combatting crimes and other violations of the laws and standards of socialist ethics and equity.

As an introduction to our discussion I would like to emphasize the features or principle, if you will, which are at the base of this policy, this strategy of struggle against the phenomenon of crime and ones which were included in the basic documents of our party in the decisions of the December 1977 National Conference. The first of these features would be combining conviction with restraint, proceeding from the consideration that primarily we should seek to convince, to develop the masses' socialist awareness and develop the level of culture and knowledge--factors which contribute decisively to the regression of antisocial phenomenon--and then, despite all the measures taken, if certain people still disregard the values protected by the socialist society as proclaimed by law, resort to obligation, to coercive measures. A second principle is to combine prevention with the coercive act, a principle which also proceeds from the concept that first we must prevent the production of the antisocial acts and violation of laws. However, this means a complex and multilateral activity which, of course, is not reduced only to legal factors but which involve economic, cultural factors and the involvement of a broad ensemble of social and public organs. If the activity of prevention still does not have satisfactory results for certain people and if they violate the country's laws, of course penalizing measures follow, ones which in turn have a preventive end and, at the same time, the social reinsertion of those who have committed these acts.

A third principle is the organic combining of humanism and firmness, by this understanding that in our criminal policy we are placing the concern for man, even the one who has made a mistake, in the center of our concern and also concern for the collective, for the multilateral development of man and the society in which he lives. Firmness in our criminal concept is part of the features of socialist humanism. Combining humanism with firmness seeks that nobody remain unpunished if he is guilty and that nobody be punished unjustly.

A fourth principle is combining the activity of the state organs with the participation of the masses and public organization in the struggle to prevent and penalize antisocial acts. Truly, our criminal policy is carried out not only and not exclusively by the state organs or coercive organs, but it is based in its implementation on the actual participation of the masses, the workers collectives and the public organizations in the prevention, penalization and reeducation of those who have committed antisocial acts.

And, finally, a fifth principle I feel should be stressed is combining democratism with the scientific nature of this policy and legislation. By this I wish to stress that our criminal policy as well as criminal legislation are based on democratic principles of state activity and on respect for the rights and legitimate interests of the citizens, on one hand, and on a well-based analysis of the realities of our

society on the other. Such a combining means that criminal policy and legislation should not be established by chance or depending on the circumstances, torn from the demands of social-economic life, but should be substantiated on science and, primarily, on a knowledge of the realities of our society and the conclusions resulting from investigation of this reality.

Nicolae Popovici: I wish to approach several aspects of preventing crime and to make some considerations and proposals on this important area of our activity.

Of course, special attention must be given to the activity of legal propaganda and popularizing legislation for the purpose of preventing criminal acts or other deviations from the standards of social life. In this regard, there is special importance in the tasks resulting from the Political Executive Committee Decision of 28 January 1981 on intensifying the political work of educating workers in the spirit of civilized behavior and respect for the standards of behavior and life of society. In order to fulfill these important tasks it is necessary for us to take energetic action in the direction of increasing the effectiveness of legal propaganda, of extending the area it covers, of diversifying the forms and methods used and of improving the quality of the actions.

The preparation of actions to explain the laws and prevent antisocial demonstrations always involves well-based knowledge of the status of legality in locations, sectors of activity and socialist units as well as the nature of these demonstrations. The good preparation of actions also means planning them with regard to subject and territory, establishing the facts with responsibility in this area, insuring coordination of the particular actions. At the same time, the fact that these propaganda actions take place in different sociovocational environments with different characteristics requires adapting them to the specific nature of the particular unit or collective. Unfortunately, it has been found that sometimes the work of prevention is carried out with an auditorium generally composed of people with correct behavior, people who respect the laws or who have no touch with the subjects treated so that the particular actions, although addressed to the broad public, actually cannot always achieve the ends proposed. On the other hand, I feel it is not enough for the action of legal propaganda to be limited to presenting legal provisions. I think that the emphasis should be placed to a greater extent on a practical explanation of the social-political reasons for the regulations and the ends sought. A theoretical explanation, however, is not enough. Practice has shown the effectiveness of giving the most specific possible presentation of the subjects, with appropriate examples, capable of leading to a correct understanding of a legal provision or to correcting the behavior of those who have violated the laws.

I would like to point out that in the work of legal propaganda we appeal often enough to forms which are not attractive, to speeches which do not hold the interest of the audience and cannot bring firm attitudes of public opinion. In achieving a differentiated prevention with increased effectiveness, we should use the most varied methods. It would be possible to organize actions with smaller groups, taking into account the vocation, age, antecedents, behavior and so forth.

Nicolae Ion Olaru: I completely share the viewpoint of Comrade Nicolae Popovici that legal propaganda could be individualized for smaller groups or even specific cases--the person "predisposed" to commit deviations from criminal standards. In order to increase the quality and effectiveness of this activity, it would be necessary for those with tasks in this area to be trained solidly in order to prevent criminal acts from being committed, to search for any conditions which could cause crime.

At the same time the prospects should be kept in mind for preventive work, that is, anticipating the environments and places where the activity of criminal elements could be shown, on the basis of substantiated studies. Timely knowledge of them may speed the prevention of violations of legal provisions. Viewing this action or "social assistance," if one may call it this, from an interdisciplinary viewpoint (pedagogical, sociological, psychological, legal), aided by other responsible cadres in different areas of activity and parents' committees in the schools and the committees of tenant associations, we will be able to do a job of effective prevention.

Actually I see psychosocial assistance as free discussions continually taking place with a person who has committed violations, some socially not dangerous or, on the contrary, those who "wear" the form of a crime of certain contraventions which are in a critical situation (family misunderstanding, sociovocational nonintegration, failure in vocational orientation, emotional deceptions and so forth) which often require "advice" by chance from people without specialized training. The move of young people to the city and other less known and familiar environments has "brought about" some of them being contacted by corrupt, vitiated elements, so-called "vitches," "fortune tellers," "wizards," speculators, social parasites and so forth, who hurry to explain their failures to them in a mystical way or who draw them into committing crimes. Psychologists and qualified persons of good faith could successfully replace these charlatans and could contribute to helping many young people who, due to certain circumstances and conditions, could be drawn into committing socially dangerous acts.

Ioan Salajan: Truly, our judicial bodies have resolved such cases. On these occasions it has been shown that the antisocial phenomenon could be reduced a lot if more effective preventive work were done, less dispersed work, work to which teachers, sociologists and psychologists, along with judges, could be drawn. I also feel that under the conditions of the current regulation of the criminal process there has not been enough preventive use of all the data furnished by the judicial procedure in its development through various stages and in strengthening the citizens' conviction that our justice consistently promotes the principle that no innocent party can be held responsible but neither can a guilty person escape responsibility. Carrying out effective prevention is favored very much, in my opinion, by the promptness with which the justice act is implemented and by the concern of all the organs involved in carrying out the judicial act in finding out the truth, in promoting a proportional punishment in strict accordance with the degree of social danger of the act penalized and, implicitly, promoting a solution which reflects the ideas of socialist humanism and ethics and, at the same time, creates a climate of security and safety for the citizens.

I feel that the problem of the effectiveness and quality of legal propaganda is very current. Special results can be obtained by a judiciously done propaganda, done wisely. I want to clarify several aspects. Legal propaganda does not seek for the intended party, the one benefitting from the legal knowledge in the end, to become a specialist in the matter. This would not even be possible. The purpose of propaganda work must be, in my opinion, perceiving the essence of a law, the intention of the lawmaker, the outlining of the ways to apply it and prevent violation of it.

Explanation of those texts from the law which would contribute to preventing antisocial acts is not always sought in popularizing certain normative acts but, rather, the dispositions are dwelled upon which penalize a behavior as such, that is, a criminal act, instead of seeking to prevent it. For example, Law No 22/1969 on

Employment of Managers contains provisions which offer certain important levers with a pronouncedly preventive nature. It is a matter of the possibility and legal obligation of drawing into the criminal process those people who, by failing to carry out their job obligations or by carrying them out defectively, have created conditions which favor having other persons commit crimes. But these provisions are not being applied appropriately and are sometimes even ignored, although the law has been in effect since 1969. Consistently promoting the provisions of a law would contribute to better management of the public wealth and appropriate protection of it.

A rather important preventive role is played by the quality of the motivations for judicial decisions. Although our courts show concern in this regard, however, there still are found situations where the incriminating acts and lessons are related concisely in the motivation for the decisions, giving few considerations in connection with the criteria kept in mind for correct individualization of the penalties. In a decision on penalizing a criminal act, a consistent motivation has powerful reverberations. Public opinion shows a lot of interest in the way in which the judge's decisions are argued. If I were to have more concern with dwelling on the conditions and causes which brought on committing of the acts and on their social danger in these decisions, I think that implicitly I would give better propaganda for the criminal law and solutions of the courts.

Ioan Filip: Since the role of the labor collectives to insure the reeducation of some of the sentenced people and their integration into society follows the role of the court in penalizing a criminal act, I would like to share several aspects from the experience of workers' collectives in a big enterprise in Bucharest in this area of social activity.

The workers council and its executive bureau, aided by the trade union, youth, women's organizations and organizations of socialist democracy and unity and all educational factors in the unit, organized many actions to popularize the laws and other important normative acts for our social-economic life and took appropriate action to reeducate the persons sentenced to correctional labor and entrusted to the supervision of workers collectives in our unit.

Some 42 convicts were sent to us for reeducation, among which only 18 had worked previously in the Electroaparataj Enterprise. The workers collective in the unit, headed by the communists, gave itself an honorable name, giving life to the humanist concept of our party with regard to reeducation through work, without loss of freedom, for those who committed crimes which did not have a high degree of social danger. From the time each was sent to us, there was a discussion with each one separately, solving his personal problems to the extent possible and, at the same time, he was entrusted to a supervisory collective established to guide his behavior. In order to give an incentive to the convicts and insure their cooperation in the reeducation action, they were sent into work formations, giving them the opportunity to obtain incomes as close as possible to those of the other workers with the same training. When the ones in the case had good behavior and gave solid proof of correction and discipline and perseverance in solving the tasks entrusted to them, the workers council requested that the court pronounce a halt to the actual penalty. Some 35 people benefitted from this measure. The measures taken in the unit as well as the concern of the supervisory collectives meant that of the 42 convicts, on our request,

Once again the results showed the positive effect which the workers collectives can have in correcting and reintegrating into society those who have committed crimes.

Teofil Pop: Really, experience has confirmed the correctness of the decision regarding to which the process for reeducating the persons committing violations or crimes which do not have a high degree of social danger should generally take place without deprivation of freedom, under the supervision of the labor collectives in the socialist units by providing a useful activity. The practice of the reeducation process through work has shown that this method of executing a penalty has proven its effectiveness, when it has been applied correctly, with the convicts becoming integrated into social life after it has been executed, with some remaining in the collective to which they were assigned following payment of the penalty.

As Comrade Ioan Filip pointed out before, the best results have been obtained in particular in the units where powerful collective and a climate of order and discipline exist.

Of course, some difficulties and shortcomings have occurred in practice and mistakes have been made in the supervision and guidance of the convicts. In some situations there has been a lack of the necessary tact, concern for the success of social reintegration. Some collectives have not been prepared enough for this purpose, and the negative results did not delay in appearing. However, it should not be lost from view that, overall, good results have been obtained and the majority of those who paid their punishment in the socialist units have gone straight and been reintegrated in the collective.

The failures in the process of the social reinsertion of those who have committed crimes explain some deficiencies in application of the law and they are due either to a mistake in individualization of the punishment and defects in communicating the sentencing solution or to the absence of a proper condition in the unit to which the convict was assigned.

Iulian Poenaru: Really, the collectives which have received tasks for the penalization and social reintegration of persons who have violated the law generally have proven their educational effectiveness. With regard to extending the area of the factors and organs involved in carrying out the act of criminal justice--penalty and education--I feel that account should be taken of certain facts which prove, first, that in all areas of activity, also in the area of legal science and practice, a continual, natural and necessary specialization takes place, that crimes are the most serious acts by which certain important social values as well as the legal rights and interests of the citizens are reached, that in legal activity, regardless of the nature and complexity of the criminal acts committed, the triumph of truth must be sought in accordance with normative principles and provisions with a certain specific nature, which must be correctly understood, strictly respected and applied. From all these angles, I feel it is necessary for the move of certain judgment duties of the judicial organs into the competence of some public organs--judiciary councils which would have the competence to judge criminal acts with small social danger, and to criminally penalize the persons guilty of committing them--to take place gradually, starting with giving restricted competence to a limited group of infractions, some of the simplest ones, so that implementation of the justice act takes place under optimum conditions. As we know, the members of these public organs do not have specialized legal training and have more difficulty in mastering the judicial procedure of administration of the investigations and in finding out the truth and individualizing the punishment and, as such, they could commit some judicial mistakes.

Nicoleta Iliescu: In connection with compiling new criminal legislation and the participation of the masses and workers in the implementation of justice, I also should

refer to the establishment of new workers judiciary councils in the socialist units and at the people's councils, which are to be a part of the system of judiciary organs in the future. Integration of the future judiciary councils into the system of judicial organs, I think, makes it necessary to rethink the classic concept of the system of judicial organs. So, we must reconsider the two elements established until now as definitive for the system of judicial organs, that is, its operation as a subsystem within the system of state organs and achieving state power in a specific form of implementing justice through these state organs. Clarification of these problems and concepts has importance not only for the theory of law but with regard directly to regulating the system of judicial organs and the future judiciary councils.

In the new concept, the system of judicial organs will be of a mixed composition, with not only state organs--the courts--but also the social-public organs--the judiciary councils--to be part of it, while some of the state's duties in exercising its power in implementing justice will move to these organs. The system of judicial organs, thus, will have to be defined not only with regard to the system of organization of the state, with the system of state organs but also with regard to the system of political organization of our society, with the particular features it has in the current stage, in which state activity is joined with the activity of the social-public organs and organizations and with the forms of direct participation of the masses.

Another important guideline for the new judicial councils is broadening their competence which, in my opinion, should be viewed as a stage and carried out gradually in accordance with the general process of increasing the masses' direct participation in social-economic activity. With regard to having the new judicial councils also judge certain crimes, I maintain the viewpoint expressed by Comrade Iulian Poenaru on limiting the competence of the future judicial councils to certain categories of crimes for the start. On one hand this means that the results recorded by the present judicial commissions in attempting to satisfy both sides in certain crimes must be utilized in the sense of giving competence to the future judicial councils primarily for judging crimes for which it is possible to attempt to satisfy the sides. On the other hand, some shortcomings found in judging certain more complex cases, caused by the lack of legal knowledge of the judicial commissions' members--needed to resolve these cases--require that at least in the present stage they be given the competence to judge some of the more simple crimes which do not create difficulties in carrying out the judgment act (of procedure, judicial technique, individualization of the punishment, administration of investigations and so forth), as was stated in our discussion.

Constantin Bulai: As has come out in the previous discussions, criminal policy (of social defense) of our party and state, on one hand, has in mind preventing anti-social acts (in this case it is carried out through a series of educational activities within a system of institutions, state organs, mass and public organizations) and, on the other, combatting antisocial acts (crimes) committed. In this case it is carried out by applying criminal punishments for the persons who have committed the socially dangerous acts. The methods used are different, with the prevention being carried out mainly by convincing, as Comrade Ioan Ceterchi said, by educating the members of society to respect the law, while combatting them by an anticrime action by restraint with the aid of punishment. The use of restraint is required by the reality of the crime phenomenon and by the need for social defense.

However, what characterizes our criminal policy in the current stage is the fact that, despite the difference existing between the two methods used, they also have some common features caused by their deeply humanist and democratic nature. I would like to refer to two of these common features. First I mention the stress being placed more and more insistently on the educational aspect of preventive measures as well as the penalties applied to those committing crimes as well as to involving society and the workers collectives to a greater and greater extent in implementing criminal policy by preventing and combatting the crime phenomenon. Our socialist society seeks to carry out that type of prevention which is based on understanding the need to respect standards of conduct, including standards of criminal law, not due to the fear of restraint which is involved in applying a criminal penalty but out of conviction and the understanding of the need that respect for these standards is done in one's own interest.

Constantin Nuta: The way in which the problem is posed of the intervention of state organs, public organizations and all citizens in hindering a person from violating the law and, at the same time, firmly penalizing those who commit crimes with exactingness and social justice is directly connected with the broad duties belonging to the collectives in combatting antisocial acts and in strengthening socialist legality.

The apparatus in the Militia General Inspectorate is concerned with knowing in time the circumstances which cause, facilitate or favor the committing of antisocial acts and the elements tempted to violate the country's laws, feeling that only in this way can effective action be taken to prevent criminal acts and sometimes unrecoverable moral and material damage. Proceeding from the effective utilization of the conclusions resulting from an analysis of the evolution and trends of the crime status, a special emphasis has been placed on the need to know all the aspects which could cause a crime to be committed, through specific means. Since prevention is a basic aspect of the militia's duties and competence, we take action so that the activity to prevent antisocial acts is marked by the permanent, multilateral and offense nature of the actions carried out. Proceeding from the truth that sometimes placing future victims of crime "on guard" is enough, we take action to warn those who through the lack of attention they give proof of or through their way of behavior can become victims of criminal elements; we advise them about the ways they can defend themselves or avoid becoming the "passive subject" of a crime. Unfortunately there still are some people who crave "bargains" or "easy occasions, who rapidly fall into the "net" of speculators and crooks, with their becoming victims of wicked offenders, however also favoring the broadening of the crime climate and social parasitism. On a broader plane, such an action means anticrime training for the population. By this we seek on the basis of the conclusions resulting from investigation of criminal cases and criminological study to adopt specific measures which lead to eliminating the danger of certain persons becoming victims of crime. Of course, the militia places a special emphasis on collaborating with other state organs, particularly those of the prosecutor's office and justice, with the leaders of socialist units and public organizations. The joint actions carried out have had a positive effect, being carried out by identifying certain persons who do not carry out an activity useful to society, being exposed and "tempted" to commit antisocial acts.

Nicolae Popovici: The democratic specific nature of our legal institutions reflects a new concept of the role of the law and the way in which the law should be understood and applied and the direct role which the collective may have in preventing the violation of standards of law and in reeducating and the social reintegration of those who have committed crimes, who have disregarded the rules of social life. In this context, I think that democratism as well as the humanism of our legal system--

from the content of legal standards up to the process of implementing justice-- not only does not exclude but, on the contrary, means firmness and intransigence in the correct penalty for all those who disregard the laws of our state. It is necessary to take firm action whenever criminal law is violated. To be humane does not mean to be lenient with violators who damage the values of society and with those who injure the citizens' rights and interests. On the contrary, socialist humanism means to defend these values. Of course, bringing someone to criminal responsibility is done on the basis of and within the limits of the law, showing special concern for applying firm but just punishments as well as for taking adequate educational measures for the purpose of the social reintegration and correction of those who have violated the law.

Ioan Salajan: I return to one aspect which I feel is basic. In fulfilling the tasks to exercise general control over the judicial activity of the courts and judge's offices, the Supreme Court has sought through the decisions pronounced and through the guidelines it has given to provide for the correct and united application of laws, correct orientation in evaluating the significance of certain actions in the area of social-economic relations as well as acts of an antisocial nature. In the forefront of the state's concern is care that in all phases of the criminal process action be taken for finding out the full truth about the circumstances in which the crime was committed and at the same time with regard to the perpetrator. On this basis, the court has been able to provide the basic requirement that no innocent persons should be brought to criminal responsibility while perpetrators should be punished in proportion to the gravity of the acts committed. For this it is very important to proceed from the causes and conditions which have facilitated certain criminal acts being committed.

The result of studying the causes of crimes against the public wealth, for example, and the circumstances making them easy is that the committing of these kinds of criminal acts is due mainly to people holding jobs connected with management wanting to get rich. In this regard, there still are some defects in selecting some of the persons employed in these positions, particularly in the units of public food service and in the sector of trade with big consumer goods, persons who, by associating with each other, sometimes succeed in committing fraud over a long period of time and causing particularly big damage.

The courts have resolved various cases of bribery by some persons entrusted with exercising administrative control, persons who have allowed themselves to be taken in by embezzlers. They were "aided" in exchange for sometimes small material advantages in covering the fraud they were committing over a long period of time. The professional incompetence and negligence of certain people with administrative control duties also have led to a failure in discovering the gaps in the management during repeated periodic inventories, while the damage grew year after year. Sometimes accounting inspectors are not capable of discovering the irregularities in management activity in time.

An alarming phenomenon has been found: the appearance of groups, "associations" of offenders who "operate" sometimes unhindered in some units. The ease of their criminal activity through lack of demanding control carried out systematically by persons entrusted with this ends in big withdrawals from the public wealth.

Another aspect. Murders are committed most times as a result of the excessive consumption of alcohol, with the majority of these kinds of crimes as well as other acts of violence being committed in a drunken state. The cases of chronic alcoholism, often associated with mental disturbances, although often known, are not the subject

of sufficient concern from the state organs, which should take action at a medical level by applying treatment and, in certain cases, they should even take the measure of isolating the patient. Other categories of crimes--without high social danger--could be restricted through sustained and organized educational activity. Unfortunately, the propaganda and educational activity carried out in some youth organizations in various socialist units and schools is not always oriented appropriately to prevent antisocial demonstrations and often is formal, with a precise purpose and superficial. We see from the practice of the Lawyers Association that sometimes the educational activity of prevention is purely formal, with the legal propaganda being intended for the honorable people. I think that good coordination is not being handled by the concerned factors and those involved in the success of the preventive action. The work is still disconnected, the organization sometimes is formal and they are seeking to achieve (and report) a certain number of actions, without keeping in mind the effectiveness and quality of the actions.

Simion Ionescu: As has been pointed out in our discussion, some grave criminal acts still are being committed against the public wealth. As has resulted from the research made on these crimes, the majority of cases of embezzlement of large economic values have complex causes. It is a question of demonstrating certain negative personality traits by certain categories of personnel with leadership jobs, with responsible jobs, managers, economic-financial control organs, with duties to administer and defend the public wealth but also grave defects in the organization and control of the activity taking place in the enterprises and organizations where these crimes are committed.

Also, the corruption found in certain units by judiciary organs, caused by deficiencies in civic education and by adopting a way of life which exceeds the possibilities for making a legal income and the desire to get rich without working more and more frequently are a cause for particularly grave embezzlement.

In this context, the "disinterest" appears of certain leaders of socialist units in the organization of management activity and management of material and monetary resources, according to legal provisions, and in strengthening the spirit of discipline and responsibility in the circulation of goods and public values. This same reason brings a number of shortcomings in the process of selecting management personnel as well as with regard to educating them in the spirit of respect for the laws and the principles of socialist ethics and equity. Traffickers, immoral and vicious elements still are being employed in management jobs, in many cases even those with criminal records and held by the desire to make money. Making withdrawals from the public wealth is favored or even facilitated by the failure to respect legal provisions on drawing up and recording the documents for the technical-operational and accounting records and for administration and management of the material and monetary values in the particular units.

As we have seen from our research and checks, in many units the managers' records are not kept correctly and the entry and withdrawal operations for material values are not recorded daily in the warehouse books and there is not a regular check on the way in which these records are made. The consequences of this kind of negligence are damaging, since it favors committing a broad spectrum of acts which damage the particular units.

In many cases the administrative and financial checks are not carried out during fixed periods and the inventory commissions are not set up legally, with even the managers or accountants who keep records of the particular administration of persons without the necessary professional training being named as members of them in some cases.

In other situations, the inventory commissions' activity is purely formal, with the inventorying of goods and values being done only in writing by putting the figures from the administrative records in the inventory lists without a precise identification and check of the actual stocks.

Eliminating the causes and conditions which bring on or facilitate crimes being committed, crimes which produce large losses to the public wealth, means, in my opinion, guiding the activity to prevent these crimes in several priority directions: strengthening the responsibility of the leaders of enterprise of the control organs and personnel with administrative duties for the good management of the material and monetary values, intensifying control by the collective leadership organs and continually improving the activity of the apparatus for administrative and financial control and of the guard formations in the socialist units.

George Basiliade: There is special importance in scientific research on the causes for crimes being committed and for deviant criminal behavior as a human demonstration, research which would contribute to improving the methods and forms which comprise the system for prevention of violations of the law. In other words, the gnoseological measures of the researchers include both the etiology of the crimes as well as prevention of them. Thus, an option is outlined for explanations of the cause which seek to answer these questions: Why is a social act committed? Why does the committing of crime exist as a social phenomenon? How can the prevention of such antisocial demonstrations be achieved under certain social-historical conditions? Undoubtedly, these problems also include interrogations on the type of criminal acts, their scope and rise depending on criteria of time, place, social organization and certain particular features of the person committing them and the way in which that personality is formed. Thus, one can discover the major connected guidelines which result from a scientific research of criminal deviance: the study of causes for the criminal behavior, the study of causes for the crime as a social phenomenon and evaluation and improvement of the prevention system. So we must investigate the relationship between the action of mental structures and processes and of the individual consciousness in committing the antisocial act. Second, it is natural to analyze the causes and conditions which have brought on antisocial formation of certain personality features. In other words, we must analyze the breakdowns in the process of socialization of the personality, which consist of the transmittal of models, standards and values of society by various formative-educational factors (the family, school, group of friends, public organizations, work collective, cultural-educational institutions) and their change into guidelines of individual and collective behavior. In the end, third, research must bring out the causes and conditions which bring on or are conditions for breakdowns in the formative-educational action of certain socialization factors of the personality.

Iulian Poenaru: Proceeding from the conditions set forth in the opening speech of the discussion, I think that another idea should be stressed and it refers to the need to keep in mind that in the system of criminal punishment a shift takes place from the punishment of the prison to the punishments not depriving the person of freedom, which are carried out through work in the socialist units, and that the sphere of the organs involved is extended in carrying out the criminal justice act, from the legal ones as state organs (prosecutor, militia, court) to the public organs, without legal specialization (judicial commission, work collectives).

These humanist openings of criminal policy seek to give a chance for the faster reform of the ones who have committed crimes which are not too serious. However, in

order to be effective, the punishments which do not deprive them of freedom should be outlined in criminal law so that they also provide the restraint aspect, along with their predominantly preventive-educational aspect. Also, in order to avoid repetition of the committing of a crime penalized only with these types of punishments as well as the failure to carry out the punishments applied as such, out of bad faith, in my opinion it would be necessary for future legislation to provide for acts punishable in this way, as a more severe alternative, to be punishable with loss of freedom. In this way we avoid the devalorization of the concept of criminal punishment for acts without serious social danger but which are repeated or the removal of some persons from such a punishment.

As we know, for serious criminal acts, the law is to be applied in all firmness, according punishment by imprisonment. In this context, I bring into discussion the problem of whether it would be advised for minors to have the law provide as an alternative to the educational measure of internment in special schools for work and reeducation a punishment depriving them of freedom, of course, more reduced than for major crimes in cases where minors commit very serious crimes of violence such as, for example, murders. In these kinds of cases, the measure of internment, now being applied, does not correspond enough to the serious social danger of some of the crimes committed by some of the minors (many of them nearly 18), while the punishment depriving them of freedom would have a greater preventive effect, would be in agreement with the profound disapproval which such acts create among public opinion and, at the same time, would provide an appropriate punishment.

In the absence of such an alternative, we could record cases when minors--instigated and guided by the offending adults--commit serious acts which are not punished with the necessary harshness, since the maximum term for internment of the minors in special work and reeducation institutions is 5 years, while the criminal code provides imprisonment for a longer period for such acts. I feel that a good criminal law, which organically combines humanism with firmness, cannot permit these kinds of possibilities to be left open.

George Basiliade: I do not agree with the proposal made by Comrade Iulian Poenaru to provide the criminal punishment of imprisonment for minors in future legislation, even as an alternative. Even if such a measure were taken, actually it would not be effective, since, under conditions of criminal law, it would boil down to reducing it in half for reasons of age, in the end, in many situations, reaching the maximum length of the period now being provided--5 years of internment in a special work and reeducation school.

An older investigation by the Research Center for Youth Problems brought out the fact that of 3,000 minors were sent to prison for various criminal acts, 73-77 percent repeated the criminal acts after they were let out. By this I want to say that in the closed environment of detention places for those who violate criminal law, elimination of the poisonous influence which adult convicts can have on minors does not succeed, although they are separated. Minor criminals, at an age where the temptation toward "adventure, toward the extraordinary, the desire to "escape from" the environment which does not agree with him, the attitude and behavior of rejecting social and legal standards can easily be reversed, of course with the aid of appropriate social-educational assistance, can easily be reeducated and reintegrated into the community if they did not have contact with the prison inmate, where they cannot continue their school training or obtain a vocational qualification.

In light of what has been said, is there interest for the minor to send him to prison? I do not think so. Also, the special work and reeducation schools are institutions in a closed, not an open, environment. Here the minors have all the conditions to reeducate themselves and, in addition, they have the opportunity to get a vocational qualification and continue their school training. From this viewpoint the social effect, in my opinion, is better.

Teofil Pop: I completely share Comrade Iulian Poenaru's viewpoint in connection the possibility--in future criminal legislation--for applying punishment depriving them of freedom, of course, within reduced limits compared with adults in the case where they have committed particularly serious crimes, particularly by violence. I support this proposal since some cases have appeared in social life where the experienced recidivists use minors for their criminal activity, knowing that only the educational measure of internment in a special work and reeducation school can be applied to them for a maximum period of 5 years. In this way, the evil offending adults evade a more serious punishment, elude the law by instigating, preparing and giving "technical information" to minors who commit crimes in their place and, most often, in the interest of the persons who have instigated them.

By minors committing such serious acts, there is a profound disturbance in the order of the law and public opinion, which rightfully demands severe criminal punishment, is indignant. The courts often have been confronted with such cases in which offenders 17-18 years old commit particularly serious acts, knowing that they are "risking" at most 5 years of internment in a special school. For that reason I feel that the possibility of applying prison--of course, as an alternative from one case to another--for minors could contribute to a general prevention, since they would know that punishment awaits them for particularly serious acts.

Simona Petrovici: The system of criminal punishments--radically changed by establishing punishments not depriving the person of freedom and carried out through work--is of social-ethical importance. At the same time, however, a certain balance should be achieved between the punishments which deprive of freedom and those carried out in the midst of the community. In my opinion, in making the most judicious establishment of the sphere of application of punishments which do not deprive of freedom compared with those which do, attention is turned to making a configuration of their content as well as the concrete cases for application. As pointed out in Comrade Iulian Poenaru's discussion, with regard to punishments depriving of freedom, besides re-evaluating the punishments by imprisonment, a problem to which attention should be given is establishment of a method of punishment by depriving of freedom within limits which correspond to the seriousness of the act for persons nearing 18 years of age who have committed particularly serious violent acts, punishable by the criminal code with imprisonment for a long period or even death, acts which seriously disturb the order of the law and produce profound indignation of public opinion. We all know that minors guilty of antisocial acts with great danger for society now are being interned in special schools (but only this) for a maximum of 5 years. For that reason I do not share the opinion supported by George Basiliade that including the punishment of imprisonment--as an alternative punishment--in future criminal legislation would be inopportune or lacking in effectiveness. On the contrary, in such a situation the minor would be subject to a differentiated, more severe system of execution than in the special school, at the same time insuring the opportunity for him to obtain a vocational training and continue his school studies. So, for particularly serious acts, the offending minor would have to be punished criminally for a period which exceeds the limit up to which he can be punished currently. I feel that this legal "possibility" could "disarm" many minor youths with antisocial behavior. Of course, such a punishment could only be applicable in cases where taking educational measures would not be effective.

Nicolae Ion Olaru: Any criminal act appears as an expression of a specific interaction between the overall personality of the subject and the overall exterior situations. We know that the offender has a bigger or smaller period of crystallization and development of the criminal behavior and preparation of his antisocial behavior. For that reason, in investigating the perpetrator of a criminal act, the act dangerous for society as such, from many viewpoints, we must take into consideration not only the psychophysiological state of the subject at the moment he commits the crime but also the "history" of his personality development. Observation, investigation and strict psychological analysis must be links in the legal process and social punishment as well as reinsertion into the community.

For the practice of preventive work, I feel that investigation and knowledge of the offending personality should take place from two converging directions, that is, discovering the lacking mental structures which predispose him to commit antisocial acts and finding out the adaptational, reserve background, on which basis action may be taken to correct or reeducate, combining in a specific form the measures of restraint with those which influence and correct the behavior. As a psychologist, I have some experience in observing the social reinsertion of some people and I have been confronted with many such cases and I could realize the effectiveness of the aid given by society to reeducating the youth.

The investigations I have made, particularly on recidivists (analyzing 172 variables), have brought out personality disorders which equal lack of organization of basic mental activity, emotional instability, hypoaffectiveness, intellectual disorders, unfavorable environment during the pre- and adolescent period, being indicators which are grouped into a main cause for lack of social adaptation. The timely knowledge and study of these indicators can contribute to adopting ways to prevent antisocial acts later.

Georgeta Dan-Spinoiu: In investigating the deeper reasons for the criminal phenomenon and the antisocial behavior of certain persons, I think one must proceed from the education the guilty party received while in the family. The study of the microsocial environment in which a person is formed often may give the answer to certain key questions in order to have knowledge of the criminal process.

I am inclined to believe that the problem of organizing an educational action with the family is of particular importance, since the family is the first framework for socialization of the person and, thus, the first responsible factor for the behavioral features which can degenerate into a future breakdown in adaptation. In turn, this may favor the committing of an antisocial act (not necessarily a serious crime). The study of these features may shape the directions of action in the pathology of crime and in preventing future disturbance in social behavior.

In my opinion, the key period in the breakdown of a child's adaptation is preadolescence, because then the transition is made from the obligation toward the rules imposed by the parents toward a spirit of independence and a junction appears: the situation of youth attempting an independence based on values imposed by the community and situation of those who are guided toward an independence they understand mistakenly: "I do what I want, I am independent, I can guide myself." This is a formula, a variation, a signal of a later breakdown in adaptation.

Nicolae Dan: I would like to present to you several conclusions from a criminological study of several of the causes for violent crimes, a theoretical and practical measu

in which sociologists, psychologists, legal physicians participated, along with criminologists and crime experts. The study's conclusions represent a criminological synthesis of the available biopsychosocial data and relevant data for some of the problems put into discussion here.

Investigations on the causes for violent crime under the conditions of our society proceeded from the conclusions on the general causes for the phenomenon which in the great majority bring out the existence of backward mentalities and of the social awareness remaining behind social existence in the case of certain individuals. This conclusion, however, is too general and, as a result, cannot offer an acceptable explanation for various particular cases. For that reason I feel that an etiological investigation cannot avoid an analysis of those contradictions which at a given moment may contribute to maintaining backward awareness, such as the contradiction between petty, sometimes egotistical, individual interests and public interests and the appearance of certain forms of failure to adapt and social nonintegration of certain categories of individuals coming from the villages to the urban environment, where they do not find the standards of behavior in which they were educated and the "control of the village" of their civic behavior and so forth. For example, in the massive process of migration from village to city, some young people abandon the traditional environment, getting jobs in industrial-urban work and thus changing their socio-vocational status but not adapting to the urban standards of behavior.

Against the backdrop of these facts, shortcomings and mistakes have appeared, ones which contribute to creation of that climate which is favorable to committing anti-social demonstrations, without the family, the school, mass means of communication and public opinion always taking prompt and effective action. Examination of the conditions in which the family fulfills its social function at the macrosocial level, for example, can point out some objective reasons causing reduction in the socializing role of the family.

In the area of the school's role, we feel that the main defect lies in the fact that the efforts are concentrated in particular on the transmittal of knowledge, sometimes neglecting its role to transmit moral values. A process takes place of replacing education with the "schooling" process, which often has negative consequences on the formation of the young personality. As resulted from the study I did with a collective of specialists, 58 percent of the subjects investigated showed a minimum level of preparation (four grades), with many having interrupted their schooling. The failure to integrate into the school collective created an aversion to work in these individuals.

Differing from other categories of crime, a state of drunkenness has been found in the violent crimes in the majority of cases, which shows that the consumption of alcohol favors antisocial demonstrations being committed, particularly acts of violence.

The above findings, however, only point out the possible background in which delinquent behavior may appear. In order to examine the causes for a certain crime's being committed, we must move from the area of the general to the area of the particulars.

Ioan Ceterchi: I have reason to state that our discussion is of special interest because of the fact that it brought out very important and current problems, both theoretical and practical ones, and it has had the merit of being an interdisciplinary symposium because it has made an important contribution to explaining the subjects put into discussion through the speeches made by attorneys, psychologists and sociologists.

I would like to mention that the discussion of these problems is not due to the fact that it is a question of a rise or a new, particular problem in criminality in Romania but, as has been shown in the discussions, the evolution of our society along all its coordinates is recording a rising development and a rise in the level of culture and civilization. Of course, in this context, wanting to achieve greater and greater successes and a superior quality of life, we cannot be satisfied with the antisocial phenomena which still persist and which have the causes we are investigating, thus contributing to measures being adopted which limit and reduce the phenomenon of crime.

We are pleased that, due to the successes achieved in the organization of our society, we do not have demonstrations of criminality which are particularly dangerous and which have taken the acute forms in a number of developed countries in the west, demonstrations which have created in these particular societies a state of insecurity of the citizens in their professional and personal lives.

In our discussion we talked a lot about the problem of the criminal punishment of minors; we cannot consider it closed, we truly must think, and there also are other solutions which should be taken into consideration which are met in other legislations. Also, the problem of defining criminal punishment, punishments depriving one of freedom, from the ones which are done in an closed environment, the concern with simplifying the criminal code, including the problem of not proliferating these punishments and reducing their number in order to distinguish them more clearly merit special attention.

Another conclusion needed is that we must fight actively and consciously against the phenomenon of crime. It will not disappear and not be reduced simply and automatically as a result of economic, social and cultural development of our society but must have a permanent and firm activity organized against it and for its prevention. In the framework of this context, we have in mind outlining the future legislation--a job of special responsibility which rests on the shoulders of those working it out--which must answer the guidelines given by the 1977 National Conference and the 12th party congress.

For that reason I feel that the speeches made here must be continued with new discussions in connection with the legislative solutions which must be taken into consideration for the criminal code, the procedural code and other laws which comprise the entire set of normative acts intended to place in a legislative framework our party's concept to prevent and combat the phenomenon of crime, education of the new man, the conscious and active creator of socialist society.

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KOSOVO ETHNIC, POPULATION DATA FROM 1981 CENSUS

Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 14 May 81 p 8

[Article on 1981 Census by Rr. Rugova: "In 10 Years There Were 341,000 More People"]

[Text] Based on the preliminary results of the 1981 (population, household units and dwellings) census, of household 1981, Kosovo KSA has a population of 1,584,558 permanent residents. Since 1971, its population increased by 341,000 residents, or 27 percent. The nationality distribution of the population is as follows: 1,227,424 Albanians (77.5 percent); 209,792 Serbians (13.2 percent); 26,875 Montenegrins (1.7 percent); 12,578 Turks (0.8 percent); 58,948 Moslems (3.7 percent); and 48,941 other (3.1 percent).

/The Provincial Statistical Office at yesterday's press conference organized by the Provincial Secretariat of Information published the preliminary results of the census for the year 1981 in the KSA of Kosovo. According to these results the KSA of Kosovo had 1,584,558 permanent residents in 1981; compared to the 1971 census, the population of the province increased by 341,000 residents, or 27 percent./ [in boldface]

There was an increase in the number of residents in all the communes of the province except Leposaviq Commune which registered 1,103 fewer residents than in 1971. The most relative increases of the population were recorded in the following communes: Pristina, Prizren and Glogocv (38 percent); Ferizaj (34 percent); and Rahovec, Decan, Dragash and Kacanik (30 percent).

The commune of Pristina recorded the largest absolute increase of population with 211,156 residents, or 58,412 more residents than in the previous census. In regard to the largest absolute increase of the population, the following ? Prizren, Ferizaj, Peja, Mitrovica. In the KSA of Kosovo there were: 1,227,424 or 77.5 percent; Serbians, 209,792 or 13.2 percent; Monte cins, 26,875 or 1.7 percent; Turks, 12,578 or 0.8 percent; Moslems, 58,948 or 3.7 percent; and the column "others" numbers 48,941 or 3.1 percent. Because these are the first results of the census of the population, the column "others" includes the nations, nationalities and ethnic groups which are not

specified by name, but their participation in the total number of the population will be noted separately in the final results of the census. It is known that the final results will be announced periodically and definitively in 1982, in accordance with the law on the population census.

The number of persons living outside the country, on a temporary basis, without families, is 26,612. This is an increase of 9 percent compared to 1971. These workers in foreign countries also have 9,510 family members. From the Kosovo communes, those communes which have more people working outside are: Gilan, 2,775; Prizren; 2,637; Gjakovo, 2,635; Peja, 2,026. Those which have less are: Leposaviq, 86; Gllgovci, 307; Vuciterna, 333.

The number of household units in the province has increased by about 41,500, compared to 1971. The number of household units registered in the 1981 census was 229,672. On the basis of these results, it is calculated that each household unit (family) has an average of 6.9 members. The total number of dwellings in the province is 238,000; out of this number, 232,000 dwellings are used on a permanent basis. This means that in the KSA of Kosovo there are 6,000 dwellings which are not utilized as permanent residences.

All the specific data is subject to change when more detailed information is obtained from all the results of the 1981 census. This applies to all categories of the census and to different levels of the sociopolitical communities of the province and to the entire province and, also, to each locality separately.

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YUGOSLAVIA

BRIEFS

HOSTILE SLOGANS IN SPLIT--In Split two boys from the "Cirilo Gamulin" School were found to be authors of a number of hostile slogans found on the walls of the school, city buildings and historical monuments in the local communities of Spinut and Blatine, as well as in the center of the city. The slogans are of an explicitly nationalist and Nazi character and have anarchistic symbols. The youths drew swastikas, copied off various battle cries, anarchistic signs and nationalist messages. Of course, curses will not fall on the young people of Split because of two pretentious teen-agers. And young people will not permit two or three school students to paint over their values and political commitments. Nevertheless, one must ask what the youth organization, pedagogic service, the school and the school committee for nationwide defense and social self-protection are doing. Does one want to continue to cover up excesses or has the time come for a comprehensive analysis of the activity of the youth organization in the city, in the schools and in other places? The youth organization has not yet discussed any of the situations involving excesses, or who the young culprits are, and what their platform is.... All the circumstances should be established before disciplinary measures are taken. It is very simple to expel them from school which [would] only indicate that the teachers are washing their hands of a situation which casts a negative light on their work. [Excerpt] [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Jun 81 p 2]

SLOVENIAN YOUTH IN CHURCH--At a 25 June meeting of the Central Committee of the LC of Slovenia Ivanka Vrhovcak, executive secretary of the Presidium, said we must open up more democratic discussion and dialogue. Why do young people, especially from the ranks of students, but joined also by some young workers, go to the Ljubljana Franciscan church, to St Jacob's bishopric, and other similar centers? They are going in order to reveal their ideological problems, troubles, to seek "their own philosophy of life" because there theologians, philosophers, psychologists discuss this with them (not only lectures are held). I am convinced that most of the youth are not drawn there out of religious feelings. [Excerpt] [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Jun 81 p 3]

PRISON FOR HOSTILE PROPAGANDA--After an investigation, the district court in Titograd, Bozidar Barovic presiding, sentenced Djon Djoljaj (38) to 2 years in prison for hostile propaganda. Djoljaj was born in Krsevo near Tuzi. He is a machine technician employed at the OOUR (basic organization of associated labor) "Machine and Equipment Maintenance" at the Aluminum Combine in Titograd. [Excerpt] [Titograd POBJEDA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Jul 81 p 4]

VIGILANCE IN BORDER AREA--The political-security situation in the border community of Vladimir in Ulcinj Opstina, inhabited exclusively by Albanians, is good, but one must react fast to any possible occurrence and prevent any possible enemy action, said Muho Ceka, secretary of the local SAWP Conference. He said constant vigilance is needed especially during the tourist season. He said a large number of students from this area returned home as soon as enemy activity broke out in Kosovo, which confirms their [correct] commitment. Hasan Djoni, secretary of the basic LC organization in Vladimir, said a member had recently been expelled from the party but not for nationalism or irredentism, but "because of two mistakes and because he was involved in discussions unsuitable for him as an LC member." [Excerpt] [Titograd POBJEDA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Jul 81 p 2]

DRAGOSAVAC, DEVA IN GNJILANE--Yesterday an expanded meeting of the LC Opstina Committee in Gnjilane was held, attended by Dr Dusan Dragosavac, secretary of the LCY CC Presidium, and Veli Deva, president of the Kosovo Provincial LC Committee. The greatest problem in this opstina is unemployment; of the 84,000 inhabitants, only 10,150 are employed, while 3,500 are working abroad. About 5,000 are seeking work and every year this number is increased by 900. [In regard to the situation in Kosovo] Veli Deva said, "We must not deceive ourselves regarding the fact that there were no demonstrations [in Gnjilane]. Nationalism has appeared here. It was reported a year or a year-and-a-half ago that a worker at the textile combine fired at an inspector. Even then nationalism began to stir up the people. Therefore, I fear for these areas where there have not been demonstrations such as Orahovac, Djakovica, Pec and Dragas. If there have not been demonstrations, communists must not relax, because this does not mean that there is less work for them." Attempts were made to organize demonstrations here and pamphlets and disinformation have been distributed. In the process of ideological-political differentiation, eight members of the LC have been expelled, including three teachers, three university-level students, one secondary school student and one worker. Three teachers were suspended for engaging in subversive propaganda. Also, 16 student stipends and 12 student loans have been cancelled. Dragosavac said... "We must fight for our youth and lead them on the right road and this means that we must change also the school structure." In regard to language, he said we must not have any kind of state language, but you communists from Kosovo must develop the awareness among children and their parents of the need to know both languages." [Excerpts] [Pristina JEDINSTVO in Serbo-Croatian 1 Jul 81 p 2]

PEC HOSPITAL DISPUTES--Instead of open discussion, the meeting of the basic LC organization at the general hospital in Pec centered on mutual recrimination, and the shifting of responsibility. There was much criticism of inaction of the party organization. Mention was made of the hostile conduct of a laboratory worker, but no action was taken.... Also noted was the euphoric behavior of certain hospital employees at the time of the visit by professors from Tirana. Hasan Meta, pharmacologist and head of the laboratory, tried to divert the discussion to tangential issues, noting that it was being rumored that Dr Bulatovic said he was pressured to such a degree that his normal work at the hospital was made impossible. The doctor denied this story, calling it disinformation aimed at making him move out. Ljutci Pacarada, laboratory worker, "suggested" that journalists, especially colleagues from TANJUG, should learn

Albanian because this is the language which most people speak in Kosovo. Like, Meta, he then said problems in this collective had been building up for years. There was ethnic division in the workers council which was reflected in employment policy. Hospital director, Radoslav Popovic, said that there had, in fact, been no ideological-political differentiation in this collective yet. One meeting had been held in 3 months and almost no Albanian employees had attended. He pointed to unfair employment practices related to nationality and said the laboratory was a source of hostile elements, mentioning an incident at the time of the visit of professors from Albania. He said, the situation in the LC organization is unhealthy, inter-personal relations at the hospital have broken down.... Afterwards there was a verbal duel between him and Hasan Meta with the latter saying that Popovic was exhibiting "Rankovic-like conduct!"

[Excerpts] [Pristina JEDINSTVO in Serbo-Croatian 1 Jul 81 p 3]

NEW SOCIALIST BOOK--On Wednesday Dr Aleksandar Grlickov, member of the LCY CC Presidium, was in Rijeka at the Center for Ideological-Theoretical Work of the Opstina Conference of the LC of Croatia to discuss his latest book, "The Modern World and Socialism." He said, "In this book I wanted to show the modern world and the tendencies of its laws which have remained the same or acquired a new quality, that is, [laws] which were unknown to classic Marxism. He stressed that the socialist world is gradually pluralizing its doctrinaire foundations. The world, at present is on a high level of contradiction but at the same time on a high level of inter-dependence, things are in a stationary position.... Everyone acts as if he were waiting for history to find solutions to the contradictions, while all forces are guarding or occupying their historical place.... Grlickov said that Marxism should defend itself from a dogmatic concept; the political divisions in the development of socialism must be revealed. Thus, today 52 countries liberated in the anticolonial revolution, which proclaimed themselves to be socialist, do not recognize Marxism. Does this interfere with socialism as a world process [today] and tomorrow as a world system? Grlickov stressed, "If capitalism has existed with 413 religions and sects, why would socialism have to hold exclusively to Marxism when we already have countries which have resolved to be socialist but which do not recognize Marxism. On the basis of general universal laws, he said, socialism can become a world system and remain diverse and he included in the socialist forces also those of differing doctrine, as well as all those which disagree with capitalism but at present do not know fully what they want. [Excerpt] [Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 25 Jun 81 p 4]

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